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PLUTARCH
OF CHAERONEI
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A.D.
·FIRST· ·EDIT
· PRINTED ·
GREEK TEXT·
AMYOT'S FRENCH
TRANSLATION·
·NORTH'S ENGLISH·

STANFORD

THE TEMPLE PLUTARCH

Edited by

W. H. D.

ROUSE

M.A.

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ROMULUS QUIRINUS.

Reverse coin of C. Memmius Quirinus
of the third century, B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ENGLISHED BY SIR THOMAS NORTH

IN TEN VOLUMES

VOL. ONE

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ROMULUS QUIRINUS

From a coin of the Monetalis Quirinus
of the third century B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES ENGLISHED BY SIR THOMAS NORTH IN TEN VOLUMES VOL ONE

PUBLISHED BY J.M. DENT
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TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY

PRINCESS ELIZABETH

By the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To the wise and virtuous Queen

UNDER hope of your Highness' gracious and accustomed favour, I have presumed to present here unto your Majesty, Plutarch's Lives translated, as a book fit to be protected by your Highness, and meet to be set forth in English — for who is fitter to give countenance to so many great states, than such an high and mighty Princess? who is fitter to revive the dead memory of their fame, than she that beareth the lively image of their vertues? who is fitter to authorise a work of so great learning and wisedom, than she whom all do honour as the Muse of the world? Therefore I humbly beseech your Majesty, to suffer the simpleness of my translation, to be covered under the ampleness of your Highness' protection. For, most gracious Sovereign, though this book be no book for your Majesty's self, who are meeter to be the chief stone, than a student therein, and can better understand it in Greek, than any man can make in English:

A precious gift

yet I hope the common sort of your subjects, shall not only profit themselves hereby, but also be animated to the better service of your Majesty. For among all the profane books, that are in reputation at this day, there is none (your Highness best knows) that teacheth so much honour, love, obedience, reverence, zeal, and devotion to Princes, as these lives of Plutarch do. How many examples shall your subjects read here, of several persons, and whole armies, of noble and base, of young and old, that both by sea and land, at home and abroad, have strained their wits, not regarded their states, ventured their persons, cast away their lives, not only for the honour and safety, but also for the pleasure of their Princes?

Then well may the readers think, if they have done this for heathen Kings, what should we do for Christian Princes? If they have done this for glory, what should we do for religion? If they have done this without hope of heaven, what should we do that look for immortality? And so adding the encouragement of these examples, to the forwardness of their own dispositions: what service is there in war, what honour in peace, which they will not be ready to do, for their worthy Queen? And therefore that your Highness may give grace to the book, and the book may do his service to your Majesty: I have translated it out of French, and do here most humbly present the same unto your Highness, beseeching your Majesty with all humility, not to reject the good meaning, but to pardon the errors of your most humble and

obedient subject and servant, who prayeth God long to multiply all graces and blessings upon your Majesty. Written the sixteenth day of January 1579. from a loyal subject

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

THOMAS NORTH.

TO THE READER

The profitable story

THE profit of stories, and the praise of the Author, are sufficiently declared by Amyot, in his epistle to the reader: so that I shall not need to make many words thereof. And indeed if you will supply the defects of this translation, with your own diligence and good understanding: you shall not need to trust him, you may prove your selves, that there is no profane study better than Plutarch. All other learning is private, fitter for universities than cities, fuller of contemplation than experience, more commendable in students themselves, than profitable unto others. Whereas stories are fit for every place, reach to all persons, serve for all times, teach the living, revive the dead, so far excelling all other books, as it is better to see learning in noble men's lives, than to read it in philosophers' writings. Now for the author, I will not deny but love may deceive me, for I must needs love him with whom I have taken so much pain: but I believe I might be bold to affirm, that he hath written the profitablest story of all authors. For all other were fain to take their matter, as the fortune of the countries whereof they wrote fell out: But this man being excellent in wit,

learning, and experience, hath chosen the special acts of the best persons, of the famousest nations of the world. But I will leave the judgement to your selves. My only purpose is to desire you to excuse the faults of my translation, with your own gentleness, and with the opinion of my diligence and good extent. And so I wish you all the profit of the book. Fare ye well. The four and twentieth day of January, 1579. of famous nations

THOMAS NORTH.

AMYOT TO THE READERS

Profit and pleasure arm in arm

THE reading of books which bring but a vain and unprofitable pleasure to the reader is justly misliked of wise and grave men. Again, the reading of such as do but only bring profit, and make the reader to be in love therewith, and do not ease the pain of the reading by some pleasantness in the same: do seem somewhat harsh to divers delicate wits that cannot tarry long upon them. But such books as yield pleasure and profit, and do both delight and teach, have all that a man can desire why they should be universally liked and allowed of all sorts of men, according to the common saying of the poet Horace:

> That he which matcheth profit with delight,
> Doth win the prize in every point aright.

Either of these yield his effect the better, by reason the one runneth with the other, profiting the more because of the delight, and delighting the more because of the profit. This commendation (in my opinion) is most proper to the reading of stories, to have pleasure and profit matched together, which kind of delight and teaching, meeting in this wise arm in arm, hath more allowance

then any other kind of writing or invention of man. In respect whereof it may be reasonably avowed, that men are more beholding to such good wits, as by their grave and wise writing have deserved the name of historiographers, than they are to any other kind of writers: because an history is an orderly register of notable things said, done, or happened in time past, to maintain the continual remembrance of them, and to serve for the instruction of them to come. **The use of history**

And like as memory is as a storehouse of men's conceits and devices, without the which the actions of the other two parties should be imperfect, and well-near unprofitable: so it may also be said, that an history is the very treasury of man's life, whereby the notable doings and sayings of men, and the wonderful adventures and strange cases (which the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preserved from the death of forgetfulness. Hereupon it riseth, that Plato the wise saith, that the name of history was given to this recording of matters to stay the fleeting of our memory, which otherwise would be soon lost, and retain little. And we may well perceive how greatly we be beholding unto it, if we do no more but consider in how horrible darkness, and in how beastly and pestilent a quagmire of ignorance we should be plunged: if the remembrance of all the things that have been done, and have happened before we were born, were utterly drowned and forgotten. Now therefore I will overpass the excellency and worthiness of the thing it self, forasmuch as it is not only of more antiquity

Monumentum dere perennius

than any other kind of writing that ever was in the world, but also was used among men, before there was any use of letters at all: because that men in those days delivered in their life times the remembrance of things past to their successors, in songs, which they caused their children to learn by heart, from hand to hand, as is to be seen yet in our days by the example of the barbarous people that inhabit the new found lands in the west, who without any records of writings, have had the knowledge of things past well-near eight hundred years afore. Likewise I leave to discourse, that it is the surest, safest, and durablest monument that men can leave of their doings in this world, to consecrate their names to immortality. For there is neither picture, nor image of marble, nor arch of triumph, nor pillar, nor sumptuous sepulchre, that can match the durableness of an eloquent history, furnished with the properties which it ought to have. Again, I mind not to stand much upon this, that it hath a certain troth in it, in that it always professeth to speak truth, and for that the proper ground thereof is to treat of the greatest and highest things that are done in the world, insomuch that (to my seeming) the great profit thereof is as Horace saith, that it is commonly called the mother of troth and uprightness, which commendeth it so greatly, as it needeth not elsewhere to seek any authority, or ornament of dignity, but of her very self. For it is a certain rule and instruction, which by examples past, teacheth us to judge of things present, and to foresee things to come: so as we may know

what to like of, and what to follow, what to mislike, and what to eschew. It is a picture, which (as it were in a table) setteth before our eyes the things worthy of remembrance that have been done in old time by mighty nations, noble kings and princes, wise governors, valiant captains, and persons renowmed for some notable quality, representing unto us the manners of strange nations, the laws and customs of old time, the particular affairs of men, their consultations and enterprises, the means that they have used to compass them withal, and their demeaning of themselves when they were come to the highest, or thrown down to the lowest degree of state. So as it is not possible for any case to rise either in peace or war, in public or private affairs, but that the person which shall have diligently read, well conceived, and throughly remembered histories, shall find matter in them whereat to take light, and counsel whereby to resolve himself to take a part, or to give advice unto others, how to choose in doubtful and dangerous cases that, which may be for their most profit, and in time to find out to what point the matter will come if it be well handled: and how to moderate himself in prosperity, and how to cheer up and bear himself in adversity. These things it doth with much greater grace, efficacy, and speed, than the books of moral philosophy do: forasmuch as examples are of more force to move and instruct, than are the arguments and proofs of reason, or their precise precepts, because examples be the very forms of our deeds, and

Truth embodied in a tale

More grave than poetry, more gracious than law

accompanied with all circumstances. Whereas reasons and demonstrations are general, and tend to the proof of things, and to the beating of them into understanding: and examples tend to the showing of them in practice and execution, because they do not only declare what is to be done, but also work a desire to do it, as well in respect of a certain natural inclination which all men have to follow examples, as also for the beauty of vertue, which is of such power, that wheresoever she is seen, she maketh herself to be loved and liked. Again, it doth things with greater weight and gravity, than the inventions and devices of the poets: because it helpeth not it self with any other thing than with the plain truth, whereas poetry doth commonly enrich things by commending them above the stars and their deserving, because the chief intent thereof is to delight. Moreover, it doth things with more grace and modesty than the civil laws and ordinances do: because it is more grace for a man to teach and instruct, than to chastise or punish. And yet for all this, an history also hath his manner of punishing the wicked, by the reproach of everlasting infamy, wherewith it defaceth their remembrance, which is a great mean to withdraw them from vice, who otherwise would be lewdly and wickedly disposed. Likewise on the contrary part, the immortal praise and glory wherewith it rewardeth well doers, is a very lively and sharp spur for men of noble courage and gentleman-like nature, to cause them to adventure upon all manner of noble and great things. For books are full of

examples of men of high courage and wisedom, who for desire to continue the remembrance of their name, by the sure and certain record of histories, have willingly yielded their lives to the service of the common weal, spent their goods, sustained infinite pains both of body and mind in defence of the oppressed, in making common buildings, in stablishing of laws and governments, and in the finding out of arts and sciences necessary for the maintenance and ornament of man's life: for the faithful registring whereof, the thank is due to histories. And although true vertue seek no reward of her commendable doings like a hireling, but contenteth herself with the conscience of her well doing: yet notwithstanding I am of opinion, that it is good and meet to draw men by all means to good doing, and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honour of their vertuous deeds, seeing that honour doth naturally accompany vertue, as the shadow doth the body. For we commonly see, that not to feel the sparks of desire of honour, is an infallible sign of a base, vile, and cloynish nature: and that such as account it an unnecessary, needless, or unseemly thing to be praised, are likewise no doers of any things worthy of praise, but are commonly men of faint courage, whose thoughts extend no further than to their lives, whereof also they have no further remembrance, than is before their eyes. But if the counsel of old men be to be greatly esteemed, because they must needs have seen much by reason of their long life: and if they that have travelled long in strange countries, and

Honour the shadow of virtue

The reading of histories is the school of wisdom

have had the managing of many affairs, and have gotten great experience of the doings of this world, are reputed for sage, and worthy to have the reins of great governments put into their hands: how greatly is the reading of histories to be esteemed, which is able to furnish us with more examples in one day, than the whole course of the longest life of any man is able to do. Insomuch that they which exercise themselves in reading as they ought to do, although they be but young, become such in respect of understanding of the affairs of this world, as if they were old and grayheaded, and of long experience. Yea though they never have removed out of their houses, yet are they advertised, informed, and satisfied of all things in the world, as well as they that have shortened their lives by innumerable travels and infinite dangers, in running over the whole earth that is inhabited: whereas on the contrary part, they that are ignorant of the things that were done and come to pass before they were born, continue still as children, though they be never so aged, and are but as strangers in their own native countries. To be short, it may be truly said, that the reading of histories is the school of wisedom, to fashion men's understanding, by considering advisedly the state of the world that is past, and by marking diligently by what laws, manners, and discipline, empires, kingdoms and dominions, have in old time been stablished, and afterward maintained and increased: or contrariwise changed, diminished, and overthrown. Also we read, that whensoever the right sage

and vertuous Emperor of Rome, Alexander Severus, was to consult of any matter of great importance, whether it concerned war or government: he always called such to counsel, as were reported to be well seen in histories. Notwithstanding, I know there are that will stand against me in this point, and uphold that the reading of histories can serve to small purpose, or none at all, towards the getting of skill: because skill consisteth in action, and is engendred by the very experience and practice of things, when a man doth well mark and throughly bear away the things that he hath seen with his eyes, and found true by proof, according to the saying of the ancient Poet Afranius:

Book-knights and book-pilots

> My name is Skill, my sire Experience height,
> And Memory bred and brought me forth to light.

Which thing was meant likewise by the philosopher that said, that the hand is the instrument of skill. By reason whereof it cometh to pass (say they), that such as speak of matters of government and state, but specially of matters of war by the book, speak but as book-knights, as the French proverb termeth them, after the manner of the Grecians, who call him a book pilot, which hath not the sure and certain knowledge of the things that he speaks of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to trust to the understanding which he hath gotten by reading, in things that consist in the deed doing, where the hand is to be set to the work: no more than the often

Objections answered

hearing of men talk and reason of painting, or the disputing upon colours, without taking of the pencil in hand, can stand a man in any stead at all to make him a good painter. But on the contrary part, many have proved wise men and good captains, which could neither write nor read. Besides this, they allege further, that in matters of war, all things alter from year to year: by means whereof the sleights and policies that are to be learned out of bookes, will serve the turn no more than mines that are blown up. According whereunto Cambyses telleth his son Cyrus in Xenophon, that like as in music the newest songs are commonly best liked of for once, because they were never heard afore: So in the wars, those policies that never were practised afore, are those that take best success, and commonly have the best effect, because the enemies do least doubt of them. Nevertheless I am not he that will maintain that a wise governor of a common-weal, or a great captain can be made of such a person, as hath never travelled out of his study, and from his books: howbeit that which Cicero writeth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that when he departed out of Rome as captain general and lieutenant of the Romans, to make war against King Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the wars, and yet afterward he bestowed so great diligence in the reading of histories, and in conferring upon every point with the old captains and men of long experience, whom he carried with him, that by the time

of his coming into Asia, where he was indeed to put his matters in execution, he was found to be a very sufficient captain, as appeared by his deeds: insomuch that, by those ways, clean contrary to the common order of war, he discomfited two of the most puissant and greatest princes that were at that time in the East. For his understanding was so quick, his care so vigilant, and his courage so great, that he needed no long training, nor gross instruction by experience. And although I grant there have been diverse governors and captains, which by the only force of nature (furthered by long continued experience) have done goodly and great exploits: yet can it not be denied me, but that if they had matched the gifts of nature with the knowledge of learning, and the reading of histories, they might have done much greater things, and they might have become much more perfect. For like as in every other cunning and skill wherein a man intendeth to excel: so also to become a perfect and sufficient person to govern in peace and war, there are three things of necessity required, namely, nature, art, and practice. Nature (in the case that we treat of) must furnish us with a good mother wit, with a body well disposed to endure all manner of travel, and with a good will to advance our selves: art must give us judgement and knowledge, gotten by the examples and wise discourses that we have read and double read in good histories: and practice will get us readiness, assuredness, and the ease how to put

Three things necessary to a Magistrate or Captain

Experience the schoolmistress of fools

things in execution. For though skill be the ruler of doing the deed, yet it is a vertue of the mind which teacheth a man the mean point, between the two faulty extremities of too much and too little, wherein the commendation of all doings consisteth. And whosoever he is that goeth about to attain to it by the only trial of experience, and had lever to learn it at his own cost, than at another man's: he may well be of the number of those that are touched by this ancient proverb, which saith, Experience is the schoolmistress of fools: because man's life is so short, and experience is hard and dangerous, specially in matters of war, wherein (according to the saying of Lamachus the Athenian captain) a man cannot fault twice, because the faults are so great, that most commonly they bring with them the overthrow of the state, or the loss of the lives of those that do them. Therefore we must not tarry for this wit that is won by experience, which costeth so dear, and is so long acoming, that a man is ofttimes dead in the seeking of it before he have attained it, so as he had need of a second life to employ it in, because of the overlate coming by it. But we must make speed by our diligent and continual reading of histories both old and new, that we may enjoy this happiness which the poet speaketh of:—

> A happy wight is he that by mishaps
> Of others, doth beware of afterclaps.

By the way, as concerning those that say

that paper will bear all things: if there be any that unworthily take upon them the name of historiographers, and deface the dignity of the story for hatred or favour, by mingling any untruth with it: that is not the fault of the history, but of the men that are partial, who abuse that name unworthily, to cover and cloak their own passions withal, which thing shall never come to pass, if the writer of the story have the properties that are necessarily required in a story writer, as these: That he set aside all affection, be void of envy, hatred and flattery: that he be a man experienced in the affairs of the world, of good utterance, and good judgement to discern what is to be said, and what to be left unsaid, and what would do more harm to have it declared, than do good to have it reproved or condemned: forasmuch as his chief drift ought to be to serve the commonweal, and that he is but as a register to set down the judgements and definitive sentences of God's Court, whereof some are given according to the ordinary course and capacity of our weak natural reason, and other some go according to God's infinite power and incomprehensible wisedom, above and against all discourse of man's understanding, who being unable to reach to the bottom of his judgements, and to find out the first motions and grounds thereof, do impute the cause of them to a certain fortune, which is nought else but a feigned device of man's wit, dazzled at the beholding of such brightness, and confounded at the gazing of so bottomless a deep: howbeit nothing cometh to pass nor is

The properties necessary to a history writer

One first cause that overruleth nature

done without the leave of him that is the very right and truth itself, with whom nothing is past or to come, and who knoweth and understandeth the very original causes of all necessity. The consideration whereof teacheth men to humble themselves under his mighty hand by acknowledging that there is one first cause which overruleth nature, whereof it cometh, that neither hardiness is always happy, nor wisedom always sure of good success. These so notable commodities are everywhere accompanied with singular delight, which proceedeth chiefly of diversity and novelty wherein our nature delighteth and is greatly desirous of: because we having an earnest inclination towards our best prosperity and advancement, it goeth on still, seeking it in every thing which it taketh to be goodly, or good in this world. But forasmuch as it findeth not wherewith to content itself under the cope of heaven, it is soon weary of the things that it had earnestly desired afore, and so goeth on wandering in the unskilfulness of her likings whereof she never ceaseth to make a continual changing until she have fully satisfied her desires, by the attaining to the last end, which is to be knit to her chief felicity, where is the full perfection of all goodliness and goodness. This liking of variety cannot be better relieved, than by that which is the finder out and the preserver of time, the father of all novelty, and messenger of antiquity. For if we find a certain singular pleasure, in harkening to such as be returned from some long voyage, and do report things which they have seen in strange

countries, as the manners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of lives, differing from ours: and if we be sometime so ravished with delight and pleasure at the hearing of the talk of some wise, discreet, and well spoken old man, from whose mouth there floweth a stream of speech sweeter than honey, in rehearsing the adventures which he hath had in his green and youthful years, the pains that he hath endured, and the perils that he hath overpassed, so as we perceive not how the time goeth away: how much more ought we be ravished with delight and wondering, to behold the state of mankind, and the true success of things, which antiquity hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world, as the setting up of empires, the overthrow of monarchies, the rising and falling of kingdoms, and all things else worthy admiration, and the same lively set forth in the fair, rich, and true table of eloquence? And that so lively, as in the very reading of them we see our minds to be so touched by them, not as though the things were already done and past, but as though they were even then presently in doing, and we find ourselves carried away with gladness and grief through fear or hope, well near as though we were then at the doing of them: whereas notwithstanding we be not in any pain or danger, but only conceive in our minds the adversities that other folks have endured, our selves sitting safe with our contentation and ease, according to these verses of the poet, Lucretius:

The delights of hearing past histories

History or good physick

It is a pleasure for to sit at ease
Upon the land, and safely thence to see
How other folks are tossed on the seas,
That with the blustring winds turmoilèd be.
Not that the sight of other's miseries
Doth any way the honest heart delight,
But for because it liketh well our eyes,
To see harms free that on our selves might light.

Also it is seen that the reading of histories doth so hold and allure good wits, that divers times it not only maketh them to forget all other pleasures, but also serveth very fitly to turn away their griefs, and sometimes also to remedy their diseases. As, for example, we find it written of Alphonsus, King of Naples, that prince so greatly renowned in Chronicles for his wisedom and goodness, that being sore sick in the city of Capua, when his physicians had spent all the cunning that they had to recover him his health, and he saw that nothing prevailed, he determined with himself to take no more medicines, but for his recreation caused the story of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deeds of Alexander the Great, to be read before him: at the hearing whereof he took so wonderful pleasure that nature gathered strength by it and overcame the waywardness of disease. Whereupon, having soon recovered his health, he discharged his physicians with such words as these: 'Feast me no more with your Hippocrates and Galen, since they can no skill to help me to recover my health: but well fare Quintus Curtius that could so good skill to help me to recover my health.' Now, if the reading and knowledge of histories be delightful and profitable to all

other kind of folk, I say it is much more for great princes and kings, because they have to do with charges of greatest weight and difficulty, to be best stored with gifts and knowledge for the discharge of their duties: seeing the ground of stories is, to treat of all manner of high matters of state, as wars, battells, cities, countries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it seemeth more fit for them than for any other kind of degrees of men: because, they being bred and brought up tenderly and at their ease, by reason of the great regard and care that is had of their persons (as meet is for so great states to have) they take not so great pains in their youth for the learning of things as behoveth those to take which will learn the noble ancient languages and the painful doctrine comprehended in philosophy. Again, when they come to man's state, their charge calleth them to deal in great affairs, so as there remaineth no exercise of wit more convenient for them than the reading of histories in their own tongue, which, without pain, is able to teach them even with great pleasure and ease, whatsoever the painful works of the philosophers concerning the government of common-weals can show them, to make them skilful in the well ruling and governing of the people and countries that God hath put under their subjection. But the worst is, that they ever (or for the most part) have such manner of persons about them as seek nothing else but to please them by all the ways they can, and there are very few that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: whereas, on the contrary part, an history flattereth the

The use of history for princes and kings

Histories supply the place of travel

not, but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of such as were like them in greatness of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalereus (a man renowned as well for his skill in the good government of a common-weal as for his excellent knowledge otherwise) counselled Ptolemy, first king of Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great, that he should often and diligently read the books that treated of the government of kingdoms, because (said he) thou shalt find many things there which thy servants and familiar friends dare not tell thee. Moreover, this is another thing, that such great personages can not easily travel out of the bounds of their dominions to go view strange countries as private persons do: because the jealousy of their estate and the regard of their dignity requires that they should never be in place where another man might command them. And oftentimes, for want of having seen the countries and knowen the people and princes that are their neighbours, they have adventured upon attempts without good ground: to avoid the which, the instruction they may have by the reading of histories is one of the easiest and fittest remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cause than only this last, surely it ought to induce princes to the often and diligent reading of histories wherein are written the heroical deeds of wise and valiant men, especially of kings that have been before them, the considering whereof may cause them to be desirous to become like them, specially which were of stately and noble courage: because

the seeds of princely vertues that are bred with themselves do then quicken them up with an emulation towards those that have been or are equal in degree with them, as well in respect of nobleness of blood as of greatness of state, so as they be loth to give place to any person, and much less can find in their hearts to be outdone in glory of vertuous doings. Whereof innumerable examples might be alleged if the thing were not so well known of itself, that it were much more against reason to doubt of it, than needful to prove it. Therefore a man may truly conclude that an history is the schoolmistress of princes, at whose hand they may without pain, in way of pastime and with singular pleasure learn the most part of the things that belong to their office. Now, according to the diversity of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and manner of writing that it useth, it hath sundry names given unto it: But yet among the rest there are two chief kinds. The one which setteth down men's doings and adventures at length, is called by the common name of an history: the other which declareth their natures, sayings, and manners, is properly named their lives. And although the ground of them both do close very near in one, yet doth the one respect more the things, and the other the persons: the one is more common, and the other more private: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceed from within: the one the events, the other the consultations: between the which

History the schoolmistress of princes

Plutarch of Chæronea

there is oftentimes great odds, according to this answer of the Persian Siramnes, to such as marvelled how it came to pass, that his devices being so politic had so unhappy success. It is (quoth he) because my devices are wholly from my own invention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of fortune and the king. And surely among all those that ever have taken upon them to write the lives of famous men, the chief prerogative, by the judgement of such as are clearest sighted, is justly given to the Greek philosopher, Plutarch, borne in the city of Chæronea in the country of Bœotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his works may well put men out of doubt, if they list to read them through: who all his life long, even to his old age, had to deal in affairs of the common weal, as he himself witnesseth in divers places, specially in the treatise which he entitled, Whether an old man ought to meddle with the government of a common-weal or not: and who had the hap and honour to be schoolmaster to the Emperor Trajan, as is commonly believed, and as is expressly pretended by a certain epistle set before the Latin translation of his matters of state, which (to say the truth) seemeth in my judgement to be somewhat suspicious, because I find it not among his works in Greek, besides that it speaketh as though the book were dedicated to Trajan, which thing is manifestly disproved by the beginning of the book, and by divers other reasons. Yet notwithstanding, because me thinks it is sagely

and gravely written, and well beseeming him, I have set it down here in this place. 'Plutarch unto Trajan sendeth greeting. I know well that the modesty of your nature was not desirous of sovereignty, though you have always endeavoured to deserve it by your honourable conversation: by reason whereof you have been found the further off from all ambition. And therefore I do now rejoice in your vertue and my fortune, if it be so great as to cause you to administer that thing with justice, which you have obtained by dessert. For otherwise, I am sure you have put your self in hazard of great dangers, and me in peril of slanderous tongues, because Rome cannot away with a wicked emperor, and the common voice of the people is always to cast the faults of the scholars in the teeth of their schoolmaisters: as for example: Seneca is railed upon by slanderous tonges, for the faults of his scholar, Nero: the scapes of Quintilian's young scholars are imputed to Quintilian him self: and Socrates is blamed for being too mild to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you shall do all things well enough, so you keep you as you are. If you first set your self in order, and then dispose all other things according to vertue, all things shall fall out according to your desire. I have set you down the means in writing, which you must observe for the well governing of your common weal, and have showed you of how great force your behaviour may be in that behalf. If you think good to follow those things, you have Plutarch for the director and

His letter to Trajan

Lost lives would choose Plutarch: because that if they were all put together, there was no one both so profitable, and so pleasant to read, as he. Sosius Senecio to whom he dedicateth his work, was a Senator of Rome, as witnesseth Dion, who writeth that the three persons whom Trajan most loved and honoured, were Sosius, Parma, and Celsus, insomuch that he caused images of them to be set up. True it is that he wrote the lives of many other men, which the spitefulness of time hath bereft us of, among which he himself maketh mention of the lives of Scipio Africanus and Metellus Numidicus. And I have read a little epistle of a son of his, whose name is not expressed, copied out of an old copy in the Library of S. Mark in Venice, wherein he writeth to a friend of his, a register of all the books that his father made: and there among the couples of lives he setteth down the lives of Scipio and Epaminondas, and lastly the lives of Augustus Cæsar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But having used all the diligence that I could in searching the chief libraries of Venice, and Rome, I could never find them out. Only I drew out certain diversities of readings, and many corrections by conferring the old written copies with the printed books: which have stood me in great stead to the understanding of many hard places: and there are a great number of them which I have restored by conjecture, by the judgement and help of such men of this age, as are of greatest knowledge in human learning. Yet for all this,

there remain some places unamended, howbeit very few, because some lines were wanting in the original copies, whereof (to my seeming) it was better for me to witness the want by marking it with some star, than to guess at it with all adventure, or to add anything to it. Now finally, if I have overshot myself in any thing, as it is very easy to do in so hard and long a work, specially to a man of so small ability as I am: I beseech the readers to vouchsafe for my discharge, to admit the excuse which the poet Horace giveth me, where he saith:

The office of a fit translator

> A man may well be overseen
> In works that long and tedious been.

Specially sith that of so many good men, and men of skill as have heretofore set hand to the translating of it, there was never yet anyone found that went through with it in any language, at least wise that I have seen or heard of: and that such as have enterprised to translate it, especially into Latin, have evidently witnessed the hardness thereof, as they may easily perceive which list to confer their translations with mine. Nevertheless if it so fortune that men find not the speech of this translation so flowing, as they have found some other of mine, that are abroad in men's hands: I beseech the readers to consider, that the office of a fit translator consisteth not only in the faithful expressing of his author's meaning, but also in a certain resembling and shadowing out of the form of his style and the manner of his speaking: unless

Two founders of mighty cities

rather write a very truth. What hath been written before, is but of strange sayings, and full of monstrous fables, imagined and devised by poets, which are altogether uncertain, and most untrue. Howbeit having heretofore set forth the lives of Lycurgus (which established the laws of the Lacedæmonians) and of king Numa Pompilius, methought I might with reason also ascend unto the time of Romulus, since thence I was come so near unto his time. Wherefore having long debated with myself what Æschylus the poet said:

> What champion may with such a man compare?
> Or who (think I) shall be against him set?
> Who is so bold? or who is he that dare
> Defend his force in such encounter met?

In the end I resolved to compare him which did set up the noble and famous city of Athens, unto him which founded the glorious and invincible city of Rome. Wherein I would have wished, that the fables of her antiquity had been set out so in our writings, that we might yet have graced them with some appearance of historical narration. But if by chance in some places they range a little too boldly out of the bounds or limits of true appearance, and have no manner of conformity with any credibleness of matter: the readers in courtesy must needs hold me excused, accepting in good part that which may be written, and reported, of things so extremely old and ancient. Now surely methinks, that Theseus in many things was much like unto Romulus. For being both

begotten by stealth and out of lawful matrimony, they were both bruited to be born of the seed of gods. **The ancestry of Theseus**

Both valiant were, as all the world doth know.

Both were very wise, and strong besides of body. The one of them built Rome, and the other the city of Athens, two of the most noble cities of the world. The one and the other were ravishers of women: and neither the one nor the other could avoid the mischief of quarrel and contention with their friends, and to defile themselves with the blood of their nearest kinsmen. Moreover, they say that both the one and the other in the end, did get the hate and ill-will of their citizens. At the least if we believe those things which are left written, and carry greatest show of truth, Theseus of his father's side was descended of the right lineage of Erechtheus the great, and of the first inhabitants which occupied the country of Attica, the which since were called Autochthones, as much to say, as born of themselves. For there is no memory, or other mention made, that they came out of any other country than that. And of his mother's side he came of Pelops, who was in his time the mightiest king of all the country of Peloponnesus, not so much for his goods and riches, as for the number of children which he had. For his daughters which were many in number, he bestowed them on the greatest lords of all the country: his sons also, which likewise were many, he dispersed into every city and free town, finding means to make

The oracle given to Ægeus

them governors and heads of the same. Pittheus, grandfather to Theseus on the mother's side, was one that founded the little city of Troezen, and was reputed to be one of the best learned and wisest men of his time. But the knowledge and wisdom, which only carried estimation at that time, consisted altogether in grave sentences and moral sayings; as those are, which wan the poet Hesiodus such fame for his book intituled, 'The Works and Days': in the which is read even at this present, this goodly sentence, which they father upon Pittheus:

> Thou shalt perform thy promise and thy pay
> To hired men, and that without delay.

And this doth Aristotle the Philosopher himself testify: and the poet Euripides also, calling Hippolytus the scholar of the holy Pittheus, doth sufficiently declare of what estimation he was: But Ægeus desiring (as they say) to know how he might have children, went into the city of Delphes to the Oracle of Apollo: where, by a Nun of the temple, this notable prophecy was given him for an answer; the which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, until he was returned again to Athens. And because the words of this prophecy were somewhat dark and hard, he returned by the city of Troezen, to tell it unto Pittheus. The words of the prophecy were these:

> O thou which art a gem of perfect grace,
> Pluck not the tap out of thy trusty tun,
> Before thou do return unto thy place
> In Athens town, from whence thy race doth run.

Pittheus understanding the meaning, persuaded

him, or rather cunningly by some device deceived him, in such sort, that he made him to lie with his daughter called Æthra. Ægeus, after he had accompanied with her, knowing that she was Pittheus' daughter with whom he had lain, and doubting that he had gotten her with child, left her a sword and a pair of shoes, the which he hid under a great hollow stone, the hollowness whereof served just to receive those things which he laid under it; and made no living creature privy to it but her alone, straightly charging her, that if she happened to have a son, when he were come to man's estate, and of strength to remove the stone, and to take those things from under it which he left there: that she should then send him unto him by those tokens as secretly as she could, that no body else might know of it. For he did greatly fear the children of one called Pallas, the which lay in wait and spiall by all the means they could to kill him, only of despite because he had no children, they being fifty brethren, and all begotten of one father. This done, he departed from her. And Æthra within few moneths after was delivered of a goodly son, the which from that time was called Theseus: and as some say, so called, because of the tokens of knowledge his father had laid under the stone. Yet some others write, that it was afterwards at Athens when his father knew him, and avowed him for his son. But in the meantime, during his infancy and childhood, he was brought up in the house of his grandfather Pittheus, under the government and teaching of one called Connidas his

The stone, sword, and sandals

Votive offering of the hair

schoolmaister: in honour of whom the Athenians to this day do sacrifice a wether, the day before the great feast of Theseus, having more reason to honour the memory of this governor, than of a Silanion and of a Parrhasius, to whom they do honour also, because they painted and cast moulds of the images of Theseus. Now there was a custom at that time in Greece, that the young men after their infancy and growth to man's estate, went into the city of Delphes, to offer part of their hairs in the temple of Apollo. Theseus also went thither as other did; and some say that the place where the ceremony of this offering was made, hath ever since kept the old name (and yet continueth) Theseia. Howbeit he did not shave his head but before only, as Homer saith, like the fashion of the Abantes, in old time: and this manner of shaving of hairs, was called for his sake, Theseis. And as concerning the Abantes, in truth they were the very first that shaved themselves after this fashion: nevertheless they learned it not of the Arabians, as it was thought of some, neither did they it after the imitation of the Mysians; but because they were warlike and valiant men, which did join near unto their enemy in battle, and above all men of the world were skilfullest in fight hand to hand, and would keep their ground: as the poet Archilochus witnesseth in these verses:

They use no slings in foughten fields to have,
Nor bended bows: but swords and trenchant blades
For when fierce Mars beginneth for to rave
In bloody field, then every man invades

His fiercest foe, and fighteth hand to hand:
Then do they deeds, right cruel to recount,
For in this wise, the brave and warlike band
Do show their force, which come from Negrepont.

Theseus lifts up the stone

The cause why they were thus shaven before, was, for that their enemies should not have the vantage to take them by the hairs of the head while they were fighting. And for this self same consideration, Alexander the Great commanded his captains to cause all the Macedonians to shave their beards: because it is the easiest hold (and readiest for the hand) a man can have of his enemy in fighting, to hold him fast by the same. But to return to Theseus. Æthra his mother had ever unto that time kept it secret from him, who was his true father. And Pittheus also had given it out abroad, that he was begotten of Neptune, because the Troezenians have this god in great veneration, and do worship him as patron and protector of their city, making offerings to him of their first fruits: and they have for the mark and stamp of their money, the three piked mace, which is the figure of Neptune, called his Trident. But after he was come to the prime and lustiness of his youth, and that with the strength of his body he showed a great courage, joined with a natural wisdom, and staidness of wit: then his mother brought him to the place where this great hollow stone lay, and telling him truly the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his father's tokens of knowledge, which he had hidden there, and gave him counsel to go by sea to Athens unto him. Theseus easily lift

Robbers and violent men

up the stone, and took his father's tokens from under it: Howbeit he answered plainly, that he would not go by sea, notwithstanding that it was a great deal the safer way, and that his mother and grandfather both had instantly entreated him, because the way by land from Troezen to Athens was very dangerous, all the ways being beset by robbers and murderers. For the world at that time brought forth men, which for strongness in their arms, for swiftness of feet, and for a general strength of the whole body, did far pass the common force of others, and were never weary for any labour or travel they took in hand. But for all this, they never employed these gifts of nature to any honest or profitable thing, but rather delighted villainously to hurt and wrong others: as if all the fruit and profit of their extraordinary strength had consisted in cruelty and violence only, and to be able to keep others under and in subjection, and to force, destroy, and spoil all that came to their hands. Thinking that the more part of those which think it a shame to do ill, and commend justice, equity, and humanity, do it of faint cowardly hearts, because they dare not wrong others, for fear they should receive wrong themselves: and therefore, that they which by might could have vantage over others, had nothing to do with such quiet qualities. Now Hercules, travelling abroad in the world, drove away many of those wicked thievish murderers, and some of them he slew and put to death; other as he passed through those places where they kept, did hide themselves for fear of him,

and gave place: insomuch as Hercules perceiving they were well tamed and brought low, made no further reckoning to pursue them any more. But after that by fortune he had slain Iphitus with his own hands, and that he was passed over the seas into the country of Lydia, where he served Queen Omphale a long time, condemning himself unto that voluntary pain for the murther he had committed, all the realm of Lydia during his abode there, remained in great peace and security from such kind of people. Howbeit in Greece, and all thereabout, these old mischiefs began again to renew, growing hotter and more violent than before: because there was no man that punished them, nor that durst take upon him to destroy them. By which occasion, the way to go from Peloponnesus to Athens by land was very perilous. And therefore Pittheus declaring unto Theseus, what manner of thieves there were that lay in the way, and the outrages and villainies they did to all travellers and wayfaring men, sought the rather to persuade him thereby to take his voyage along the seas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glory of Hercules' noble deeds, had long before secretly set his heart on fire, so that he made reckoning of none other but of him, and lovingly harkened unto those which would seem to describe him what manner of man he was, but chiefly unto those which had seen him, and been in his company, when he had said or done any thing worthy of memory. For then he did manifestly open himself, and he felt the like passion in his

A noble rivalry

Theseus will tread in his great kinsman's steps

heart, which Themistocles long time afterwards endured, when he said: that the victory and triumph of Miltiades would not let him sleep. For even so, the wonderful admiration which Theseus had of Hercules' courage made him in the night that he never dreamed but of his noble acts and doings, and in the day time, pricked forwards with emulation and envy of his glory, he determined with himself one day to do the like, and the rather, because they were near kinsmen, being cousins removed by the mother's side. For Æthra was the daughter of Pittheus, and Alcmena (the mother of Hercules) was the daughter of Lysidice, the which was half-sister to Pittheus, both children of Pelops and of his wife Hippodamia. So he thought he should be utterly shamed and disgraced, that Hercules travelling through the world in that sort, did seek out those wicked thieves to rid both sea and land of them: and that he, far otherwise, should fly occasion that might be offered him, to fight with them that he should meet on his way. Moreover, he was of opinion, he should greatly shame and dishonour him, whom fame and common bruit of people reported to be his father: if in shunning occasion to fight, he should convey himself by sea, and should carry to his true father also a pair of shoes (to make him known of him) and a sword not yet bathed in blood. Where he should rather seek cause, by manifest token of his worthy deeds, to make known to the world of what noble blood he came, and from whence he was descended. With this determination, Theseus holdeth on his

purposed journey, with intent to hurt no man, yet to defend himself, and to be revenged of those which would take upon them to assault him. The first therefore whom he slew within the territories of the city of Epidaurus, was a robber called Periphetes. This robber used for his ordinary weapon to carry a club, and for that cause he was commonly surnamed Corynetes, that is to say, a club carrier. So he first strake at Theseus to make him stand: but Theseus fought so lustily with him, that he killed him. Whereof he was so glad, and chiefly for that he had won his club, that ever after he carried it himself about with him, as Hercules did the lion's skin. And like as this spoil of the lion did witness the greatness of the beast which Hercules had slain, even so Theseus went all about, showing that this club which he had gotten out of another's hands, was in his own hands invincible. And so going on further, in the straits of Peloponnesus he killed another, called Sinnis, surnamed Pityocamptes, that is to say, a wreather or bower of pine-apple trees: whom he put to death in that self cruel manner that Sinnis had slain many other travellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former practice or exercise: but only to show, that clean strength could do more than either art or exercise. This Sinnis had a goodly fair daughter called Perigouna, which fled away when she saw her father slain: whom he followed and sought all about. But she had hidden herself in a grove full of certain kinds of wild pricking rushes called stœbé, and wild sparage,

The Club-carrier and the Pine-bender

The Sow of Crommyon

which she simply like a child entreated to hide her, as if they had heard, and had sense to understand her: promising them with an oath, that if they saved her from being found, she would never cut them down, nor burn them. But Theseus finding her, called her, and sware by his faith he would use her gently, and do her no hurt, nor displeasure at all. Upon which promise she came out of the bush, and lay with him, by whom she was conceived of a goodly boy, which was called Melanippus. Afterwards Theseus married her unto one Deioneus, the son of Eurytus the Œchalian. Of this Melanippus the son of Theseus, came Ioxus: the which with Ornytus brought men into the country of Caria, where he built the city of Ioxides. And hereof cometh that old ancient ceremony, observed yet unto this day by those of Ioxides, never to burn the briars of wild sparage, nor the stœbé, but they have them in some honour and reverence. Touching the wild savage Sow of Crommyon, otherwise named Phæa, that is to say, overgrown with age: she was not a beast to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kill. Theseus notwithstanding tarried for her, and killed her in his journey, to the end it should not appear to the world, that all the valiant deeds he did, were done by compulsion, and of necessity: adding thereto his opinion also, that a valiant man should not only fight with men, to defend himself from the wicked: but that he should be the first, to assault and slay wild hurtful beasts. Nevertheless others have written, that this Phæa was a woman

bber, a murderer, and naught of her body, **Sciron of Megara**
ıich spoiled those that passed by the place
lled Crommyonia, where she dwelt: and that
e was surnamed a Sow, for her beastly brutish
haviour and wicked life, for the which in the
d she was also slain by Theseus. After her
killed Sciron, entring into the territories of
egara, because he robbed all travellers by the
ıy, as the common report goeth: or as others
y, for that of a cruel, wicked, and savage
:asure, he put forth his feet to those that
ssed by the seaside, and compelled them to
ısh them. And then when they thought to
›op to do it, he still spurned them with his
:t, till he trust them headlong into the
ı: so Theseus threw him headlong down the
cks. Howbeit the writers of Megara impugn-
ş this common report, and desirous (as
monides saith) to overthrow it that had con-
ıued by prescription of time, did maintain that
is Sciron was never any robber, nor wicked
rson, but rather a pursuer and punisher of the
cked, and a friend and kinsman of the most
nest and justest men of Greece. For there is
man but will confess, that Æacus was the
›st vertuous man among the Grecians in his
ne, and that Cychreus the Salaminian is
noured and reverenced as a god at Athens:
d there is no man also but knoweth that
:leus and Telamon were men of a singular
rtue. Now it is certain, that this Sciron
ıs son-in-law to Cychreus father-in-law of
:acus, and grandfather to Peleus and Telamon,
e which two were the children of Endeïs,

Cercyon and Procrustes

the daughter of the said Sciron, and of his wif Chariclo. Also it is not very likely, that s many good men would have had affinity with s naughty and wicked a man: in taking of him and giving him that which men love best o all things in the world. And therefore th Historiographers say, that it was not th first time, when Theseus went unto Athen that he killed Sciron: but that it was man days after, when he took the city of Eleusi which the Megarians held at that time, wher he deceived the Governor of the city, calle Diocles, and there he slew Sciron. And thes be the objections the Megarians alleged touchin this matter. He slew also Cercyon th Arcadian, in the city of Eleusis, wrestling wit him. And going a little further, he sle Damastes, otherwise surnamed Procrustes, in th city of Hermionia: and that by stretching o him out, to make him even with the length an measure of his beds, as he was wont to do unt strangers that passed by. Theseus did that i imitation of Hercules, who punished tyrants wit the self same pain and torment which they ha made others suffer. For even so did Hercule sacrifice Busiris. So he stifled Antaeus i wrestling. So he put Cycnus to death, fightin with him man to man. So he broke Termerus head, from whom this proverb of Termerus' ev came, which continueth yet unto this day: fo this Termerus did use to put them to death i this sort whom he met: to joll his hea against theirs. Thus proceeded Theseus afte this self manner, punishing the wicked in lik

sort, justly compelling them to abide the same pain and torments, which they before had unjustly made others abide. And so he held on his journey until he came to the river of Cephisus, where certain persons of the house of the Phytalides were the first which went to meet him, to honour him, and at his request they purified him according to the ceremonies used at that time: and afterwards having made a sacrifice of propitiation unto their gods, they made him great cheer in their houses: and this was the first notable entertainment he found in all his journey. It is supposed he arrived in the city of Athens, the eight day of the moneth of June, which then they called Cronius. He found the commonwealth turmoiled with seditions, factions, and divisions, and particularly the house of Ægeus in very ill terms also, because that Medea (being banished out of the city of Corinth) was come to dwell in Athens, and remained with Ægeus, whom she had promised by vertue of certain medicines to make him to get children. But when she heard tell that Theseus was come, before that the good king Ægeus (who was now become old, suspicious, and afraid of sedition, by reason of the great factions within the city at that time) knew what he was, she persuaded him to poison him at a feast which they would make him as a stranger that passed by. Theseus failed not to go to this prepared feast whereunto he was bidden, but yet thought it not good to disclose himself. And the rather to give Ægeus occasion and mean to know him: when they

Theseus arrives in Athens

Ægeus acknowledges his son

brought the meat to the board, he drew out h sword as though he would have cut withal, an showed it unto him. Ægeus seeing it knew straight, and forthwith overthrew the cup wit poison which was prepared for him: and aft he had inquired of him, and asked things, h embraced him as his son. Afterwards in th common assembly of the inhabitants of the cit he declared, how he avowed him for his so Then all the people received him with exceed ing joy, for the renown of his valiantness an manhood. And some say, that when Ægeu overthrew the cup, the poison which was in i fell in that place, where there is at this present certain compass enclosed all about within the temp which is called Delphinium. For even the in that place, in the old time, stood the hou of Ægeus: in witness whereof, they call yet this present time the image of Mercury (whic is on the side of the temple looking towards th rising of the sun) the Mercury gate of Ægeu But the Pallantides, which before stood alway in hope to recover the realm of Athens, at th least after Ægeus' death, because he had n children: when they saw that Theseus wa known, and openly declared for his son an heir, and successor to the realm, they were no able any longer to bear it, seeing that not onl Ægeus (who was but the adopted son Pandion, and nothing at all of the blood roy of the Erichtheides) had usurped the kingdo over them, but that Theseus also should enjo it after his death. Whereupon they determine to make war with them both, and dividing them

selves into two parts, the one came openly in arms with their father, marching directly towards the city: the other lay close in ambush in the village Gargettus, meaning to give charge upon them in two places at one instant. Now they brought with them an Herald born in the town of Agnus, called Leos, who bewrayed unto Theseus the secret and device of all their enterprise. Theseus upon this intelligence went forth, and set on those that lay in ambush, and put them all to the sword. The others which were in Pallas' company understanding thereof, did break and disperse themselves incontinently, and this is the cause (as some say) why those of Pallene do never make affinity nor marriage with those of Agnus at this day: and that in their town when any proclamation is made, they never speak these words which are cried everywhere else throughout the whole country of Attica, *Acouete Leo* (which is as much to say, as Harken oh people) they do so extremely hate this word Leos, for that it was the Herald's name that wrought them that treason. This done, Theseus who would not live idly at home and do nothing, but desirous therewithal to gratify the people, went his way to fight with the bull of Marathon, the which did great mischiefs to the inhabitants of the country of Tetrapolis. And having taken him alive, brought him through the city of Athens, to be seen of all the inhabitants. Afterwards he did sacrifice him unto Apollo Delphinian. Now concerning Hecale, who was reported to have lodged him, and to have given him

The Herald Leos

The feud with Minos

good entertainment, it is not altogether untrue. For in the old time, those towns and villages thereabouts did assemble together, and made a common sacrifice which they called Hecalesion, in honour of Jupiter Hecaleius, where they honoured this old woman, calling her by a diminutive name, Hecalene: because when she received Theseus into her house, being then but very young, she made much of him, and called him by many pretty made names, as old folks are wont to call young children. And forasmuch as she had made a vow to Jupiter to make him a solemn sacrifice, if Theseus remained safe from the enterprise he went about, and that she died before his return: in recompense of the good cheer she made him, she had that honour done unto her by Theseus' commandment, as Philochorus hath written of it. Shortly after this exploit, there came certain of king Minos' ambassadors out of Creta, to ask a tribute, being now the third time that it was demanded; which the Athenians prayed for this cause. Androgeus, the eldest son of king Minos, was slain by treason within the country of Attica: for which cause Minos pursuing the revenge of his death, made very hot and sharp wars upon the Athenians, and did them great hurt. But besides all this, the gods did sharply punish and scourge all the country, as well with barrenness and famine, as also with plague and other mischiefs, even to the drying up of their rivers. The Athenians perceiving these sore troubles and plagues, ran to the oracle of Apollo, who answered them that they should appease Minos,

and when they had made their peace with him, that then the wrath of the gods would cease against them, and their troubles should have an end. Whereupon the Athenians sent immediately unto him, and entreated him for peace: which he granted them, with condition that they should be bound to send him yearly into Creta, seven young boys, and as many young girls. Now thus far all the Historiographers do very well agree, but in the rest not. And they which seem furthest off from the truth, do declare, that when these young boys were delivered in Creta, they caused them to be devoured by the Minotaur within the Labyrinth: or else that they were shut within this Labyrinth, wandring up and down, and could find no place to get out, until such time as they died, even famished for hunger. And this Minotaur, as Euripides the poet saith, was

The Cretan Labyrinth

A corps combined, which monstrous might be deemed:
A Boy, a Bull, both man and beast it seemed.

But Philochorus writeth, that the Cretans do not confess that, but say that this Labyrinth was a jail or prison, in the which they had no other hurt, saving that they which were kept there under lock and key, could not fly nor start away: and that Minos had in memory of his son Androgeus, instituted games and plays of prize, where he gave unto them that wan the victory, those young children of Athens, the which in the mean time notwithstanding were carefully kept and looked unto in the prison of the Labyrinth: and that at the first games that

Old-time legends

were kept, one of the King's captains call
Taurus, who was in best credit with his maist
wan the prize. This Taurus was a churlish a
naughty natured man of condition, and very ha
and cruel to these children of Athens. And
verify the same, the Philosopher Aristotle hin
self, speaking of the commonwealth of t
Bottiæans, declareth very well, that he nev
thought that Minos did at any time cause t
children of Athens to be put to death: b
saith, that they poorly toiled in Creta, even
crooked age, earning their living by true a
painful service. For it is written, that t
Cretans (to satisfy an old vow of theirs, whi
they had made of ancient time) sent sometin
the first-born of their children unto Apollo
the city of Delphes: and that amongest the
they also mingled those which were descend
of the ancient prisoners of Athens, and th
went with them. But because they could n
live there, they directed their journey first in
Italy, where for a time they remained in t
realm of Apulia, and afterwards from then
went into the confines of Thracia, where th
had this name of Bottiæans. In memory wher
of, the daughters of the Bottiæans in a solen
sacrifice they make, do use to sing the foot
this song: Let us to Athens go. But therel
we may see how perilous a thing it is, to fall
displeasure and enmity with a city which c
speak well, and where learning and eloquence
flourish. For ever since that time Minos w
always blazed and disgraced throughout all t
theatres of Athens. The testimony

Hesiodus, who calleth him the most worthy King, doth nothing at all help him, nor the praise of Homer, who nameth him Jupiter's familiar friend: because the tragical poets got the upper hand in disgracing him, notwithstanding all these; and upon their stages where all the tragedies were played, they still gave forth many ill-favoured words and foul speeches of him; as against a man that had bin most cruel and unnatural. Yet most men think, that Minos was the King that established the laws, and Rhadamanthus the Judge and preserver of them, who caused the same also to be kept and observed. The time now being come about for payment of the third tribute, when they came to compel the fathers which had children not yet married, to give them to be put forth to take their chance and lot: the citizens of Athens began to murmur against Ægeus, alleging for their grieves, that he who only was the cause of all this evil, was only alone exempted from this grief. And that to bring the government of the realm to fall into the hands of a stranger his bastard, he cared not though they were bereft of all their natural children, and were unnaturally compelled to leave and forsake them. These just sorrows and complaints of the fathers whose children were taken from them, did pierce the heart of Theseus, who willing to yield to reason, and to run the self-same fortune as the citizens did, willingly offered himself to be sent thither, without regard taking to his hap or adventure. For which, the citizens greatly esteemed of his courage and honourable disposi-

Theseus offers himself a willing sacrifice

The white sail

tion, and dearly loved him for the good affec
he seemed to bear unto the communalty.
Ægeus having used many reasons and persuas
to cause him to turn, and stay from his purp
and perceiving in the end there was no ren
but he would go: he then drew lots for
children which should go with him. Hellan
notwithstanding doth write, that they were
those of the city which drew lots for
children they should send, but that M
himself went thither in person, and did ch
them, as he chose Theseus the first, t
conditions agreed between them: that is to
that the Athenians should furnish them wi
ship, and that the children should ship
embark with him, carrying no weapons of w
and that after the death of the Minotaur
tribute should cease. Now before that t
there was never any hope of return, nor
safety of their children; therefore the Athen
always sent a ship to convey their children,
a black sail, in token of assured loss. Ne
theless Theseus putting his father in good
of him, being in a good courage, and promi
boldly that he would set upon this Mino
Ægeus gave unto the master of the ship a w
sail, commanding him that at his return
should put out the white sail if his son
escaped; if not, that then he should set up
black sail, to show him afar off his unlucky
unfortunate chance. Simonides notwithstan
doth say, that this sail which Ægeus gave
the master, was not white, but red, dyed
grain, and of the colour of scarlet: and tha

gave it him to signify afar off their delivery and safety. This master was called Phereclus Amarsyadas, as Simonides saith. But Philochorus writeth, that Scirus the Salaminian gave to Theseus a maister called Nausithous, and another mariner to tackle the sails, who was called Phæax: because the Athenians at that time were not greatly practised to the sea. And this did Scirus, for that one of the children on whom the lot fell was his nephew: and thus much the chapels do testify, which Theseus built afterwards in honour of Nausithous, and of Phæax, in the village of Phalerum, joining to the temple of Scirus. And it is said moreover, that the feast which they call Cybernesia, that is to say, the feast of Patrons of the ships, is celebrated in honour of them. Now after the lots were drawn, Theseus taking with him the children alloted for the tribute, went from the palace to the temple called Delphinion, to offer up to Apollo for him and for them, an offering of supplication, which they call Hiceteria: which was an olive bough hallowed, wreathed about with white wool. After he had made his prayer, he went down to the sea-side to embark, the sixt day of the moneth of March: on which day at this present time they do send their young girls to the same temple of Delphinion, there to make their prayers and petitions to the gods. But some say, that the Oracle of Apollo in the city of Delphes had answered him, that he should take Venus for his guide, and that he should call upon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cause he

Theseus makes offering at the Delphinion

Ariadne's love

did sacrifice a goat unto her upon the sea-side, which was found suddenly turned into a ram, and that therefore they surnamed this goddess Epitragia, as one would say, the goddess of the ram. Furthermore, after he was arrived in Creta, he slew there the Minotaur (as the most part of ancient authors do write) by the means and help of Ariadne: who being fallen in fancy with him, did give him a clue of thread, by the help whereof she taught him, how he might easily wind out of the turnings and cranks of the Labyrinth. And they say, that having killed this Minotaur, he returned back again the same way he went, bringing with him those other young children of Athens, whom with Ariadne also he carried afterwards away. Pherecydes saith moreover, that he brake the keels or bottoms of all the ships of Creta, because they should not suddenly set out after them. And Demon writeth, that Taurus (the captain of Minos) was killed in a fight by Theseus, even in the very haven mouth, as they were ready to ship away, and hoise up sail. Yet Philochorus reporteth, that king Minos having set up the games, as he was wont to do yearly in the honour and memory of his son, every one began to envy captain Taurus, because they ever looked that he should carry away the game and victory, as he had done other years before; over and above that, his authority got him much ill-will and envy, because he was proud and stately, and had in suspicion that he was great with Queen Pasiphaë. Wherefore when Theseus required that he might encounter

with Taurus, Minos easily granted it. And being a solemn custom in Creta, that the women should be present, to see those open sports and fights, Ariadne being at these games, amongst the rest, fell further in love with Theseus, seeing him so goodly a person, so strong, and invincible in wrestling, that he far exceeded all that wrestled there that day. King Minos was so glad that he had taken away the honour from captain Taurus, that he sent him home frank and free into his country, rendring to him all the other prisoners of Athens: and for his sake clearly released and forgave the city of Athens the tribute, which they should have paid him yearly. Howbeit, Clidemus searching out the beginning of these things to the utmost, reciteth them very particularly, and after another sort. For he saith, about that time there was a general restraint through all Greece, restraining all manner of people to bear sail in any vessel or bottom, wherein there were above five persons, except only Jason, who was chosen captain of that great ship Argo, and had commission to sail everywhere, to chase and drive away rovers and pirates, and to scour the seas throughout. About this time, Dædalus being fled from Creta to Athens in a little barque, Minos contrary to this restraint, would needs follow him with a fleet of divers vessels with owers, who being by force of weather driven with the coast of Sicily, fortuned to die there. Afterwards his son Deucalion, being marvellously offended with the Athenians, sent to summon them to deliver Dædalus unto him, or else he would put the

Differing accounts

No truth or certainty

children to death, which were delivered to his father for hostages. But Theseus excused himself, and said he could not forsake Dædalus, considering he was his near kinsman, being his cousin-german; for he was the son of Merope, the daughter of Erechtheus. Howbeit by and by he caused many vessels secretly to be made, part of them within Attica itself in the village of Thymœtadæ, far from any highways: and part of them in the city of Troezen, by the sufferance of Pittheus his grandfather, to the end his purpose should be kept the secretlier. Afterwards when all his ships were ready, and rigged out, he took sea before the Cretans had any knowledge of it: in so much as when they saw them afar off, they did take them for the barques of their friends. Theseus landed without resistance, and took the haven. Then having Dædalus, and other banished Cretans for guides, he entered the city itself of Gnossus, where he slew Deucalion in a fight before the gates of the Labyrinth, with all his guard and officers about him. By this means the kingdom of Creta fell by inheritance into the hands of his sister Ariadne. Thesus made league with her, and carried away the young children of Athens which were kept as hostages, and concluded peace and amity between the Athenians and the Cretans: who promised, and sware, they would never make wars against them. They report many other things also touching this matter, and specially of Ariadne: but there is no truth nor certainty in it. For some say, that Ariadne hung herself for sorrow, when she saw that

Theseus had cast her off. Others write, that she was transported by mariners into the Isle of Naxos, where she was married unto Œnarus, the priest of Bacchus: and they think that Theseus left her, because he was in love with another, as by these verses should appear: Poets' fables

> Ægle the Nymph was lov'd of Theseus,
> Who was the daughter of Panopeus.

Hereas the Megarian saith, that these two verses in old time were among the verses of the poet Hesiodus, howbeit Pisistratus took them away: as he did in like manner add these other here in the description of the hells of Homer, to gratify the Athenians.

> Bold Theseus, and Perithous stout,
> Descended both from gods' immortal race,
> Triumphing still this weary world about
> In feats of arms, and many a comely grace.

Others hold opinion, that Ariadne had two children by Theseus: the one of them was named Œnopion, and the other Staphylus. Thus amongst others the poet Ion writeth it, who was born on the Isle of Chios, and speaking of this city, he saith thus:

> Œnopion which was the son of worthy Theseus,
> Did cause men build this stately town, which now triumpheth thus.

Now what things are found seemly in poets' fables, there is none but doth in manner sing them. But one Pæon born in the city of

Death of Adriadne

Amathus, reciteth this clean after another sort, and contrary to all other: saying, that Theseus by tempest was driven with the Isle of Cyprus, having with him Ariadne, which was great with child, and so sore sea-sick, that she was not able to abide it. In so much as he was forced to put her on land, and himself afterwards returning aboard hoping to save his ship against the storm, was compelled forthwith to loose into the sea. The women of the country did courteously receive and entreat Ariadne: and to comfort her again (for she was marvellously out of heart, to see she was thus forsaken) they counterfeited letters, as if Theseus had written them to her. And when her groaning time was come, and she to be laid, they did their best by all possible means to save her: but she died notwithstanding in labour, and could never be delivered. So she was honourably buried by the Ladies of Cyprus. Theseus not long after returned thither again, who took her death marvellous heavily, and left money with the inhabitants of the country, to sacrifice unto her yearly: and for memory of her, he caused two little images to be molten, the one of copper, and the other of silver, which he dedicated unto her. This sacrifice is done the second day of September, on which they do yet observe this ceremony: they do lay a young child upon a bed, which pitifully crieth and lamenteth, as women travailing with child. They say also, that the Amathusians do yet call the grove where her tomb is set up, the wood of Venus Ariadne. And yet there are of the Naxians, that report this otherwise: saying,

there were two Minoes, and two Ariadnees, whereof the one was married to Bacchus in the Isle of Naxos, of whom Staphylus was born: and the other the youngest, was ravished and carried away by Theseus, who afterwards forsook her, and she came into the Isle of Naxos, with her nurse, called Corcyna, whose grave they do shew yet to this day. The second Ariadne died there also, but she had no such honour done to her after her death, as to the first was given. For they celebrate the feast of the first with all joy and mirth: where the sacrifices done in memory of the second, be mingled with mourning and sorrow. Theseus then departing from the Isle of Creta, arrived in the Isle of Delos, where he did sacrifice in the temple of Apollo, and gave there a little image of Venus, the which he had gotten of Ariadne. Then with the other young boys that he had delivered, he danced a kind of dance, which the Delians keep to this day, as they say: in which there are many turns and returns, much after the turnings of the Labyrinth. And the Delians call this manner of dance, the crane, as Dicæarchus saith. And Theseus daunced it first about the altar, which is called Ceraton, that is to say, horn staff: because it is made and built of horns only, all on the left hand well and curiously set together without any other binding. It is said also that he made a game in this Isle of Delos, in which at the first was given to him that overcame, a branch of palm for reward of victory. But when they drew near the coast of Attica, they were so

The crane dance

Ægeus and the black sail

joyful, he and his maister, that they forgat to set up their white sail, by which they should have given knowledge of their health and safety unto Ægeus. Who seeing the black sail afar off, being out of all hope ever more to see his son again, took such a grief at his heart, that he threw himself headlong from the top of a cliff, and killed himself. So soon as Theseus was arrived at the port named Phalerum, he performed the sacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at his departure: and sent an Herald of his before unto the city, to carry news of his safe arrival. The Herald found many of the city mourning the death of King Ægeus. Many others received him with great joy, as may be supposed. They would have crowned him also with a garland of flowers, for that he had brought so good tidings, that the children of the city were returned in safety. The Herald was content to take the garland, yet would he not in any wise put it on his head, but did wind it about his Herald's rod he bore in his hand, and so returneth forthwith to the sea, where Theseus made his sacrifices. Who perceiving they were not yet done, did refuse to enter into the temple, and stayed without for troubling of the sacrifices. Afterwards all ceremonies finished, he went in and told him the news of his father's death. Then he and his company mourning for sorrow, hasted with speed towards the city. And this is the cause, why to this day, at the feast called Oschophoria (as who would say the feast of boughs) the Herald hath not his head but his rod only

crowned with flowers, and why the assistants also after the sacrifice done, do make such cries and exclamations: Ele, leuf, iou, iou: whereof the first, is the cry and voice they commonly use one to another to make haste, or else it is the foot of some song of triumph: and the other is the cry and voice of men as it were in fear and trouble. After he had ended the obsequies and funerals for his father, he performed also his sacrifices unto Apollo, which he had vowed the seventh day of the moneth of October, on which they arrived at their return into the city of Athens. Even so the custom which they use at this day to seethe all manner of pulse, cometh of this: that those which then returned with Theseus, did seethe in a great brass pot all the remains of their provision, and therewith made good cheer together. Even in such sort as this, came up the custom to carry a branch of olive, wreathed about with wool, which they call Eiresione: because at that time they carried boughs of supplication, as we have told ye before. About which they hang all sorts of fruits: for then barrenness did cease, as the verses they sang afterwards did witness: **Eiresione**

Bring him good bread, that is of savry taste,
With pleasant figs, and drops of dulcet mell,
Then supple oil, his body for to baste,
And pure good wine, to make him sleep full well.

Howbeit there are some which will say, that these verses were made for the Heraclides, that is to say, those that descended from Hercules: which flying for their safety and succour unto

Theseus his galliot

the Athenians, were entertained and much made of by them for a time. But the most part hold opinion, they were made upon the occasion aforesaid. The vessel in which Theseus went and returned, was a galliot of thirty owers, which the Athenians kept until the time of Demetrius the Phalerian, always taking away the old pieces of wood that were rotten, and ever renewing them with new in their places. So that ever since, in the disputations of the philosophers, touching things that increase, to wit, whether they remain always one, or else they be made others: this galliot was always brought in for example of doubt. For some maintained, that it was still one vessel: others to the contrary defended it was not so. And they hold opinion also, that the feast of boughs which is celebrated at Athens at this time, was then first of all instituted by Theseus. It is said moreover, that he did not carry all the wenches upon whom the lots did fall, but chose two fair young boys, whose faces were sweet and delicate as maidens be, that otherwise were hardy, and quick spirited. But he made them so oft bath themselves in hot baths, and kept them in from the heat of the sun, and so many times to wash, annoint and rub themselves with oils which serve to supple and smooth their skins, to keep fresh and fair their colour, to make yellow and bright their hairs: and withal did teach them so to counterfeit the speech, countenance and fashion of yong maids, that they seemed to be like them, rather than young boys. For there was no manner of difference to be perceived outwardly, and he

mingled them with the girls, without the knowledge of any man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a procession, in which both he and the other young boys were apparelled then, as they be now, which carry boughs on the day of the feast in their hands. They carry them in the honour of Bacchus and Ariadne, following the fable that is told of them: or rather because they returned home just at the time and season, when they gather the fruit of those trees. There are women which they call Deipnophores, that is to say, supper carriers, which are assistants to the sacrifice done that day, in representing the mothers of those, upon whom the lots did fall, because they in like sort brought them both meat and drink. There they tell tales, for so did their mothers tattle to their children, to comfort and encourage them. All these particularities were written by Demon the historiographer. There was moreover a place chosen out, to build him a temple in, and he himself ordained, that those houses which had paid tribute before unto the King of Creta, should now yearly thenceforth become contributories towards the charges of a solemn sacrifice, which should be done in the honour of him: and he did assign the order and administration of the same, unto the house of the Phytalidæ, in recompense of the courtesy which they showed him when he arrived. Furthermore, after the death of his father Ægeus, he undertook a marvellous great enterprise. For he brought all the inhabitants of the whole province of Attica, to be within the city of Athens, and made them all one corporation, which were

Youths disguised as maidens

The new commonwealth

before dispersed into divers villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be assembled together, when occasion was offered to establish any order concerning the common state. Many times also they were at variance together, and by the ears, making wars one upon another. But Theseus took the pains to go from village to village, and from family to family, to let them understand the reasons why they should consent unto it. So he found the poor people and private men, ready to obey and follow his will, but the rich and such as had authority in every village, all against it. Nevertheless he wan them, promising that it should be a common wealth, and not subject to the power of any sole prince, but rather a popular state. In which he would only reserve to himself the charge of the wars, and the preservation of the laws: for the rest, he was content that every citizen in all and for all should bear a like sway and authority. So there were some that willingly granted thereto. Others who had no liking thereof, yielded notwithstanding for fear of his displeasure and power which then was very great. So they thought it better to consent with good will, unto that he required: than to tarry his forcible compulsion. Then he caused all the places where justice was ministred, and all their halls of assembly to be overthrown and pulled down. He removed straight all judges and officers, and built a town house, and a counsail hall, in the place where the city now standeth, which the Athenians call Asty, but he called the whole corporation of them, Athens. Afterwards he

instituted the great feast and common sacrifice for all of the country of Attica, which they call Panathenæa. Then he ordained another feast also upon the sixteenth day of the moneth of June, for all strangers which should come to dwell in Athens, which was called Metœcia, and is kept even to this day. That done, he gave over his regal power according to his promise, and began to set up an estate or policy of a common wealth, beginning first with the service of the gods. To know the good success of his enterprise, he sent at the very beginning to the oracle of Apollo in Delphes, to inquire of the fortune of this city: from whence this answer was brought unto him.

The Feasts Panathenæa and Metœcia

O thou which art the son of Ægeus,
Begot by him on Pittheus' daughter dear,
The mighty Jove, my father glorious,
By his decree, hath said there shall appear
A fatal end of every city here.
Which end he will, shall also come adown,
Within the walls of this thy stately town.

Therefore show thou a valiant constant mind,
Nor let no care nor cark thy heart displease.
For like unto a bladder blown with wind
Thou shalt be tost, upon the surging seas.
Yet let no dint of dolours thee disease.
For why? thou shalt nor perish nor decay,
Nor be o'ercome nor yet be cast away.

It is found written also that Sibylla afterwards gave out such a like oracle over the city of Athens.

The bladder blown may float upon the fludde,
But cannot sink, nor stick in filthy mud.

Theseus maketh difference of degrees in his common-weal

Moreover, because he would further yet ment his people, and enlarge his city, he en many to come and dwell there, by offering the self same freedom and priviledges, whicl natural born citizens had. So that many j that these words which are in use at this in Athens, when any open proclamation is r All people, Come ye hither: be the self which Theseus then caused to be proclai when he in that sort did gather a people tog of all nations. Yet, for all that, he suffered the great multitude that came thither tag and to be without distinction of degrees and or For he first divided the noble men, from bandmen and artificers, appointing the men as judges and magistrates to judge matters of Religion, and touching the se of the gods: and of them also he did cl rulers, to bear civil office in the common- to determine the law, and to tell all holy divine things. By this means he made noble men and the two other estates equ voice. And as the noblemen did pass the in honour: even so the artificers exceeded in number, and the husbandmen them in p Now that Theseus was the first who o others yielded to have a common-wea popular estate (as Aristotle saith) and did over his regal power: Homer self seemet testify it in numbring the ships which wer the Grecian army before the city of T For amongest all the Grecians, he only ca the Athenians people. Moreover, Theseus co money, which he marked with the stamp o

ox, in memory of the bull of Marathon, or of Taurus the captain of Minos, or else to provoke his citizens to give themselves to labour. They say also that of this money they were since called Hecatombæon, and Decabæon, which signifieth worth a hundred oxen and worth ten oxen. Furthermore, having joined all the territory of the city of Megara, unto the country of Attica, he caused that notable four-square pillar to be set up for their confines within the strait of Peloponnesus, and engraved thereupon this superscription, that declareth the separation of both the countries which confine there together. The superscription is this:—

Theseus erected the games Isthmia in honour of Neptune

Where Titan doth begin his beams for to display,
Even that way stands Ionia, in fertile wise alway:
And where again he goeth adown to take his rest,
There stands Peloponnesus land, for there I compt it west.

It was he also which made the games called Isthmia, after the imitation of Hercules, to the end that as the Grecians did celebrate the feast of games called Olympia, in the honour of Jupiter, by Hercules' ordinance: so, that they should also celebrate the games called Isthmia, by his order and institution, in the honour of Neptune. For those that were done in the straits in the honour of Melicertes, were done in the night, and had rather form of sacrifice or of a mystery, than of games and open feast. Yet some will say, that these games of Isthmia were instituted in the honour and memory of Sciron, and that Theseus ordained them in satis-

Antiopa the Amazon ravished by Theseus

faction of his death: because he was his cousin german, being the son of Canethus, and of Heniocha the daughter of Pittheus. Others say that it was Sinis and not Sciron, and that for him Theseus made these games, and not for the memory of the other. Howsoever it was, he specially willed the Corinthians, that they should give unto those that came from Athens to see their games of Isthmia, so much place to sit down before them (in the most honourable part of the feast place) as the sail of their ship should cover, in the which they came from Athens: thus do Hellanicus and Andron Halicarnasseus write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the sea Maior, Philochorus, and some others hold opinion, that he went thither with Hercules against the Amazons: and that to honour his valiantness, Hercules gave him Antiopa the Amazon. But the more part of the other Historiographers, namely Hellanicus, Pherecydes, and Herodotus, do write, that Theseus went thither alone, after Hercules' voyage, and that he took this Amazon prisoner, which is likeliest to be true. For we do not find that any other who went this journey with him, had taken any Amazon prisoner besides himself. Bion also the Historiographer, this notwithstanding saith, that he brought her away by deceit and stealth. For the Amazons (saith he) naturally loving men, did not fly at all when they saw them land in their country, but sent them presents, and that Theseus enticed her to come into his ship, who brought him a present: and so soon as she was aboard, he hoised his

sail, and so carried her away. Another Historiographer Menecrates, who wrote the history of the city of Nicæa, in the country of Bithynia, saith: that Theseus having this Amazon Antiopa with him, remained a certain time upon those coasts, and that amongst others he had in his company three younger brethren of Athens, Euneus, Thoas, and Solois. This last, Solois, was marvellously in love with Antiopa, and never betrayed it to any of his other companions, saving unto one with whom he was most familiar, and whom he trusted best: so that he reported this matter unto Antiopa. But she utterly rejected his suit, though otherwise she handled it wisely and courteously, and did not complain to Theseus of him. Howbeit the young man despairing to enjoy his love, took it so inwardly, that desperately he leapt into the river, and drowned himself. Which when Theseus understood, and the cause also that brought him to this desperation and end: he was very sorry, and angry also. Whereupon, he remembered a certain oracle of Pythia, by whom he was commanded to build a city in that place in a strange country, where he should be most sorry, and that he should leave some that were about him at that time, to govern the same. For this cause therefore he built a city in that place, which he named Pythopolis, because he had built it only by the commandment of the Nun Pythia. He called the river in the which the young man was drowned, Solois, in memory of him: and left his two brethren for his deputies and as governors of this new city,

Pythopolis built by Theseus

The cause of the wars of the Amazons against the Athenians

with another gentleman of Athens, called Hermus. Hereof it cometh, that at this day the Pythopolitans call a certain place of their city, Hermus' House. But they fail in the accent, by putting it upon the last syllable: for in pronouncing it so, Hermus signifieth Mercury. By this means, they do transfer the honour due to the memory of Hermus, unto the god Mercury. Now hear what was the occasion of the wars of the Amazons, which me thinks was not a matter of small moment, nor an enterprise of a woman. For they had not placed their camp within the very city of Athens, nor had not fought in the very place it self (called Pnyx) adjoining to the temple of the Muses, if they had not first conquered or subdued all the country thereabouts: neither had they all come at the first, so valiantly to assail the city of Athens. Now, whether they came by land from so far a country, or that they passed over an arm of the sea, which is called Bosphorus Cimmericus, being frozen as Hellanicus saith: it is hardly to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very city it self, the names of the places which continue yet to this present day do witness it, and the graves also of the women which died there. But so it is, that both armies lay a great time one in the face of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length Theseus having first made sacrifice unto Fear the goddess, according to the counsel of a prophesy he had received, he gave them battell in the moneth of August, on the same day, in which the Athenians do even

at this present solemnise the feast, which they call Boëdromia. But Clidemus the Historiographer, desirous particularly to write all the circumstances of this encounter, sayeth that the left point of their battell bent towards the place which they call Amazoneion: and that the right point marched by the side of Chrysa, even to the place which is called Pnyx, upon which, the Athenians coming towards the temple of the Muses, did first give their charge. And for proof that this is true, the graves of the women which died in the first encounter, are found yet in the great street, which goeth towards the gate Piraïca, near unto the chapel of the little god Chalcodon. And the Athenians (saith he) were in this place repulsed by the Amazons, even to the place where the images of Eumenides are, that is to say of the furies. But on the other side also, the Athenians coming towards the quarters of Palladium, Ardettus, and Lyceum, drove back their right point even to within their camp, and slew a great number of them. Afterwards, at the end of four moneths, peace was taken between them by means of one of the women called Hippolyta. For this Historiographer called the Amazon which Theseus married, Hippolyta, and not Antiopa. Nevertheless, some say that she was slain (fighting on Theseus' side) with a dart, by another called Molpadia. In memory whereof, the pillar which is joining to the temple of the Olympian ground, was set up in her honour. We are not to marvail, if the history of things so ancient, be found so diversely written. For there are also

Peace concluded by means of Hippolyta

Ancient tombs of the Amazons

that write, that Queen Antiopa sent those secretly which were hurt then into the city of Chalcis, where some of them recovered, and were healed: and others also died, which were buried near to the place called Amazoneion. Howsoever it was, it is most certain that this war was ended by agreement. For a place adjoining to the temple of Theseus, doth bear record of it, being called Horcomosium: because the peace was there by solemn oath concluded. And the sacrifice also doth truly verify it, which they have made to the Amazons, before the feast of Theseus, long time out of mind. They of Megara also do show a tomb of the Amazons in their city, which is as they go from the market place, to the place they call Rhus: where they found an ancient tomb, cut in fashion and form of a lozenge. They say that there died other of the Amazons also, near unto the city of Chæronea, which were buried all along the little brook passing by the same, which in the old time (in mine opinion) was called Thermodon, and is now named Hæmon, as we have other places written in the life of Demosthenes. And it seemeth also, that they did not pass through Thessaly, without fighting: for there are seen yet of their tombs all about the city of Scotusæa, hard by the rocks, which he called the dog's head. And this is that which is worthy memory (in mine opinion) touching the wars of these Amazons. How the Poet telleth that the Amazons made wars with Theseus to revenge the injury he did to their Queen Antiopa, refusing her, to marry with Phædra:

and for the murder which he telleth that Hercules did, that me thinks is altogether but device of Poets. It is very true, that after the death of Antiopa, Theseus married Phædra, having had before of Antiopa a son called Hippolytus, or as the Poet Pindarus writes, Demophon. And for that the Historiographers do not in anything speak against the tragical Poets: in that which concerneth the illhap that chanced to him, in the persons of this his wife and of his son: we must needs take it to be so, as we find it written in the tragedies. And yet we find many other reports touching the marriages of Theseus, whose beginnings had no great good honest ground, neither fell out their ends very fortunate: and yet for all that they have made no tragedies of them, neither have they been played in the Theatres. For we read that he took away Anaxo the Trozenian, and that after he had killed Sinnis and Cercyon, he took their daughters perforce: and that he did also marry Peribœa, the mother of Ajax, and afterwards Pherebœa, and Iopa the daughter of Iphicles. And they blame him much also, for that he so lightly forsook his wife Ariadne, for the love of Ægle the daughter of Panopeus, as we have recited before. Lastly, he took away Helen: which ravishment filled all the Realm of Attica with wars, and finally was the very occasion that forced him to forsake his country, and brought him at the length to his end, as we will tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other princes of Greece had done many goodly and notable exploits in the wars, yet

Theseus' marriages

The ravishment of Helen

the country by the help of Theseus, who armed himself, and fought on their side. Yet Herodotus writeth the matter somewhat contrary, saying that Theseus went not at all until the war was well begun: and that it was the first time that he saw Hercules, and spoke with him near unto the city of Trachis, when he was then quiet, having ended all his far voyages, and greatest troubles. They report that this meeting together was full of great cheer, much kindness, and honourable entertainment between them, and great courtesy was offered to each other. Nevertheless me thinks we should give better credit to those writers that say they met many times together, and that Hercules was accepted and received into the brotherhood of the mysteries of Eleusis, by the means of the countenance and favour which Theseus showed unto him: and that his purification also was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged of necessity of all his ill deeds and cruelties, before he could enter into the company of those holy mysteries. Futhermore, Theseus was fifty years old when he took away Helen and ravished her, which was very young, and not of age to be married, as Hellanicus saith. By reason whereof, some seeking to hide the ravishment of her as a haynous fact, do report it was not he, but one Idas and Lynceus that carried her away, who left her in his custody and keeping: and that Theseus would have kept her from them, and would have not delivered her to her brethren Castor and Pollux, which afterwards did demand her again of him. Others again

say it was her own father Tyndarus, who gave her him to keep, for that he was affrayd of Enarsphorus the son of Hippocoön, who would have had her away by force. But that which cometh nearest to the troth in this case, and which indeed by many authors is testified, was in this sort. Theseus and Pirithous went together to the city of Lacedæmon, where they took away Helen (being yet very young) even as she was dancing in the temple of Diana surnamed Orthia, and they fled for life. They of Lacedæmon sent after her, but those that followed went no further than the city of Tegea. Now when they were escaped out of the country of Peloponnesus, they agreed to draw lots together, which of them two should have her, with condition that whose lot it were to have her, he should take her to his wife, and should be bound also to help his companion to get him another. It was Theseus' hap to light upon her, who carried her to the city of Aphidnæ, because she was yet too young to be married. Whither he caused his mother to come to bring her up, and gave his friend called Aphidnus the charge of them both, recommending her to his good care, and to keep it so secretly, that nobody should know what was become of her. Because he would do the like for Pirithous (according to the agreement made betwixt them) he went into Epirus with him to steal the daughter of Aïdoneus, king of the Molossians, who had surnamed his wife Proserpina, his daughter Proserpina, and his dog Cerberus: with whom he made them fight which came to ask his daughter

Theseus went to Epirus to steal Proserpina

Pirithous torn in pieces with Cerberus, Theseus close prisoner

in marriage, promising to give her to him that should overcome his Cerberus. But the king understanding that Pirithous was come, not to request his daughter in marriage, but to steal her away, he took him prisoner with Theseus: and as for Pirithous, he caused him presently to be torn in pieces with his dog, and shut Theseus up in close prison. In this meantime there was one at Athens called Menestheus, the son of Peteus: which Peteus was the son of Orneus, and Orneus was the son of Erectheus. This Menestheus was the first that began to flatter the people, and did seek to win the favour of the communalty, by sweet enticing words: by which device he stirred up the chiefest of the city against Theseus (who indeed long before began to be weary of him) by declaring unto them how Theseus had taken from them their royalties and signiories, and had shut them up in such sort within the walls of a city, that he might the better keep them in subjection and obedience in all things, after his will. The poor inferior sort of people, he did stir up also to rebellion, persuading them that it was no other than a dream of liberty which was promised them: and how contrarywise they were clearly dispossessed and thrown out of their own houses, of their temples, and from their natural places where they were born, to the end only, that in liew of many good and loving lords which they were wont to have before, they should now be compelled to serve one only head, and a strange lord. Even as Menestheus was very hot about this practice, the war of the Tyndarides fell out

at that instant, which greatly furthered his pretence. For these Tyndarides (to wit the children of Tyndarus) Castor and Pollux, came down with a great army, against the city of Athens: and some suspect sore that Menestheus was cause of their coming thither. Howbeit at the first entry they did no hurt at all in the country, but only demanded restitution of their sister. To whom the citizens made answer, that they knew not where she was left: and then the brethren began to make spoil, and offer war indeed. Howbeit there was one called Academus, who having knowledge (I cannot tell by what means) that she was secretly hidden in the city of Aphidnes, revealed it unto them. By reason whereof the Tyndarides did always honour him very much, so long as he lived, and afterwards the Lacedæmonians, having oft burnt and destroyed the whole country of Attica throughout, they would yet never touch the Academy of Athens for Academus' sake. Yet Dicearchus saith, that in the army of the Tyndarides there were two Arcadians, Echedemus, and Marathus, and how of the name of one of them, it was then called the place of Echedemia, which sithence hath been called Academia: and after the name of the other, there was a village called Marathon, because he willingly offered himself to be sacrificed before the battell, as obeying the order and commandment of a prophecy. So they went and pitched their camp before the city of Aphidnæ, and having won the battle, and taken the city by assault, they razed the place. They say that

Academia, why so called

The Tyndarides honoured as gods and called Anaces

Alycus, the son of Sciron was slain at this field, who was in the host of the Tyndarides, and that after his name, a certain quarter of the territory of Megara was called Alycus, in the which his body was buried. Howbeit Hereas writeth that Theseus himself did kill him before Aphidnæ: In witness whereof he alleges certain verses which speak of Alycus.

> While as he sought with all his might and main
> In thy defence, fair Helen, for to fight,
> In Aphidnæ upon the pleasant plain,
> Bold Theseus to cruel death him dight.

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that Theseus being there, the city of Aphidnæ, and his mother also were taken. But when it was won they of Athens began to quake for fear, and Menestheus counselled them to receive the Tyndarides into the city, and to make them good cheer, so they would make no wars but upon Theseus, which was the first that had done them the wrong and injury: and that to all other else they should shew favour and good will. And so it fell out. For when the Tyndarides had all in their power to do as they listed, they demanded nothing else but that they might be received into their corporation, and not to be reckoned for strangers, no more than Hercules was: the which was granted the Tyndarides, and Aphidnus did adopt them for his children, as Pylius had adopted Hercules. Moreover they did honour them as if they had been gods, calling them Anaces. Either because they ceased the wars, or for that they ordered

themselves so well, that their whole army being lodged within the city, there was not any hurt or displeasure done to any person: but as it became those that have the charge of anything, they did carefully watch to preserve the good quiet thereof. All which this Greek word Anacos doth signify, whereof perchance it comes that they call the kings Anactes. There are others also who hold opinion that they were called Anaces, because of their stars which appeared in the air. For the Attican tongue hath, Anecas, and Anecathen: where the common people say Ano, and Anothen, that is to say, above. Nevertheless Æthra, Theseus' mother, was carried prisoner to Lacedæmon, and from thence to Troia with Helen, as some say: but as Homer himself doth witness in his verses, where he speaketh of the women that followed Helen.

Divers opinions of Homer's verses

Æthra the daughter dear of Pittheus' aged sire,
And with her fair Clymene she, whose eyes most women desire.

But there are other who as well reject these verses, and maintain they are not Homer's: also they reprove all that is reported of Theseus. To wit, that Laodice being privily wived of him by Demophon, he was brought secretly by Æthra within Troia. But Ister the historian in his thirteenth of his histories of Attica, maketh a recital far contrary to other, saying: that some hold opinion, that Paris Alexander was slain in battell by Achilles and Theseus in the country of Thessaly, near to the

Theseus delivered out of prison by Hercules' means

river of Spercheius, and that his brother Hector took the city of Troezen, from whence he brought away Æthra: in which there is no manner of apparance or likelihood. But Aïdoneus king of the Molossians, feasting Hercules one day as he passed through his realm, descended by chance into talk of Theseus and of Pirithous, how they came to steal away his daughter secretly: and after told how they were also punished. Hercules was marvellous sorry to understand that one of them was now dead, and the other in danger to die, and thought with himself that to make his moan to Aïdoneus, it would not help the matter: he besought him only that he would deliver Theseus for his sake. And he granted him. Thus Theseus being delivered of his captivity, returned to Athens where his friends were not altogether kept under by his enemies: and at his return he did dedicate to Hercules all the temples, which the city had before caused to be built in his own honour. And where first of all they were called Thesea, he did now surname them all Herculea, excepting four, as Philochorus writeth. Now when he was arrived at Athens, he would immediately have commanded and ordered things as he was wont to do: but he found himself troubled much with sedition, because those who had hated him of a long time, had added also to their old cankred hate, a disdain and contempt to fear him any more. And the common people now were become so stubborn, that where before they would have done all that they were commanded, and have spoke nothing

to the contrary: now they looked to be borne with, and flattered. Whereupon Theseus thought at the first to have used force, but he was forced by the faction and contention of his enemies to let all alone, and in the end, despairing he should ever bring his matters to pass to his desire, he secretly sent away his children unto the Isle of Eubœa, to Elephenor the son of Chalcodon. And himself, after he had made many wishes and curses against the Athenians, in the village of Gargettus, in a place which for that cause to this day is called Araterion (that is to say, the place of cursings): he did take the seas, and went into the Isle of Scyros, where he had goods, and thought also to have found friends. Lycomedes reigned at that time, and was king of the Isle, unto whom Theseus made request for some land, as intending to dwell there: albeit some say that he required him to give him aid against the Athenians. Lycomedes, were it that he doubted to entertain so great a personage, or that he did it to gratify Menestheus: carried him up to the high rocks, feigning as though he would from thence have shewed him all his country round about. But when he had him there, he threw him down headlong from the top of the rocks to the bottom, and put him thus unfortunately to death. Yet other write, that he fell down of himself by an unfortunate chance, walking one day after supper as he was wont to do. There was no man at that time that did follow or pursue his death, but Menestheus quietly remained king of Athens: and the children of

Theseus fled to Scyros, and was cruelly slain

Cimon taketh the Isle of Scyros

Theseus, as private soldiers followed Elephenor in the wars of Troia. But after the death of Menestheus, who died in the journey to Troy, Theseus' sons returned unto Athens, where they recovered their state. Sithence there were many occasions which moved the Athenians to reverence and honour him as a demy God. For in the battell of Marathon, many thought they saw his shadow and image in arms, fighting against the barbarous people. And after the wars of the Medes (the year wherein Phædon was governor of Athens) the Nun Pythia answered the Athenians, who had sent to the oracle of Apollo: that they should bring back the bones of Theseus, and putting them in some honourable place, they should preserve and honour them devoutly. But it was a hard matter to find his grave: and if they had found it, yet had it been a harder thing to have brought his bones away, for the malice of those barbarous people which inhabited that Isle: which were so wild and fierce, that none could trade or live with them. Notwithstanding Cimon having taken the Island (as we have written in his life) and seeking his grave: perceiving by good hap an eagle picking with her beak, and scraping with her claws in a place of some pretty height: straight it came into his mind (as by divine inspiration) to search and dig the place: where was found the tomb of a great body, with the head of a spear which was of brass, and a sword with it. All which things were brought to Athens by Cimon in the admiral's galley. The Athenians received them with great joy, with

processions and goodly sacrifices, as if Theseus himself had been alive, and had returned into he city again. At this day all these relics lie et in the midst of the city, near to the place where the young men do use all their exercises f body. There is free liberty of access for all laves and poor men, (that are afflicted and ursued, by any mightier than themselves) to ray and sacrifice in remembrance of Theseus: who while he lived was protector of the oppressed, and did courteously receive their requests nd petitions that prayed to have aid of him. The greatest and most solemn sacrifice they do nto him, is on the eight day of October, in which he returned from Creta, with the other oung children of Athens. Howbeit they do ot leave to honour him every eight day of all ther moneths, either because he arrived from Troezen at Athens the eight day of June, as Diodorus the Cosmographer writeth: or for hat they thought that number to be meetest for im, because the bruit ran he was begotten f Neptune. They do sacrifice also to Neptune, he eight day of every moneth, because the umber of eight is the first cube made of even umber, and the double of the first square: which doth represent a steadfastness immovable, properly attributed to the might of Neptune, whom for this cause we surname Asphalius, and Gaieochus, which by interpretation doth signify: the safe keeper, and the stayer of the earth.

and bringeth Theseus' bones to Athens

THE LIFE OF ROMULUS

Diverse opinions

THE Historiographers do not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cause the great name of the city of Rome (the glory whereof is blown abroad through all the world) was first given unto it. For some think that the Pelasgians, after they had overcome the greatest part of the world, and had inhabited and subdued many nations, in the end did stay themselves in that place where it was new built: and for their great strength and power in arms, they gave the name of Rome unto the city, as signifying power in the Greek tongue. Other say, that after the taking and destruction of Troia, there were certain Trojans which saving themselves from the sword, took such vessels as they found at adventure in the haven, and were by winds put to the Tuscan shore, where they anchored near unto the river of Tiber. There their wives being so sore sea sick, that possibly they could not any more endure the boistrous surges of the seas: it happened one of them among the rest (the noblest and wisest of the company) called Roma, to counsel the other women of her companions to set their ships afire, which they did accordingly. Wherewith their husbands at the

first were marvellously offended. But afterwards, being compelled of necessity to plant themselves near unto the city of Pallantium, they were appeased when they saw things prosper better than they hoped for, finding the soil there fertile, and the people their neighbours civil and gentle in entertaining them. Wherefore amongst other honours they did to requite this lady Roma, they called their city after her name, as from whom came the original cause of the building and foundation thereof. They say that from thence came this custom continuing yet to this day at Rome, that the women saluting their kinsfolks and husbands do kiss them in the mouth, for so did these Trojan Ladies to please their husbands, and to win them again, after they had lost their favours, and procured their displeasures with burning of their ships. Other say that Roma was the daughter of Italus, and of Leucaria, or else of Telephus the son of Hercules, and of the wife of Æneas: other say of Ascanius, the son of Æneas, who named the city after her name. Other hold opinion, that it was Romanus (the son of Ulysses and of Circe) that first founded Rome: other will say that it was Romus the son of Emathion, whom Diomedes sent thither from Troia. Other write that it was one Romus a tyran of the Latins, who drove the Tuscans out of those parts: which departing out of Thessaly went first of all into Lydia, and afterwards from Lydia into Italy. And furthermore, they who think that Romulus (as indeed it carrieth best likelihood) was he that gave the name to the

about the name of Rome

Fables of Romulus' birth

city, do not agree about his ancestors. For some of them write, that he was the son of Æneas and of Dexithea the daughter of Phorbas, and that he was brought into Italy of a little child with his brother Remus: and that at that time the river of Tiber being overflown, all other ships were cast away, saving the ship in which the two little boys were, which by great good hap came to a stay upon a very plain even ground on the bank: and because the children beyond all hope were saved by this means, therefore the place was afterwards called Roma. Other say, that Roma the daughter of the first Trojan lady was married unto Latinus the son of Telemachus, by whom she had Romulus. Other write, that it was Æmilia, the daughter of Æneas and of Lavinia, which was gotten with child by the god Mars. Other tell a tale of Romulus' birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is said that there was some time a king of Alba, named Tarchetius, a very wicked and cruel man, in whose house through the permission of the gods, appeared such a like vision: that there rose up in the hearth of his chimney the form and fashion of a man's privy member, which continued there many days. And they say that at that time there was in Tuscany an oracle of Thetis, from whom they brought unto this wicked king Tarchetius such an answer: that he should cause his daughter yet unmarried to have carnal company with the strange thing, for she should bear a son, that should be famous for his valiancy, for strength of body,

d his happy success, wherein he should exceed men of his time. Tarchetius told this oracle to one of his daughters, and willed her to tertain this strange thing: but she disdaining do it, sent one of her waiting women to dertake the entertainment. But Tarchetius was mad at this, that he caused them both to be ken to put them to death: howbeit, the ddess Vesta appeared to him in his sleep in e night, and charged him he should not do Whereupon he did command them to make n a piece of cloth in the prison, with promise at they should be married when they had ished it. These poor maids toiled at it all e livelong day, but in the night there came ners (by Tarchetius' commandment) that did do all they had done the day before. In the eantime, this waiting woman that was got with ild by this strange thing, was delivered of two odly boys or twins whom Tarchetius gave unto e Teratius, with express commandment he should st them away. This Teratius carried them to the bank of the river: thither came a she olf and gave them suck, and certain birds that ought little crumms and put them in their ouths, until a swineherd perceiving them, and ondring at the sight, did boldly go to the ildren, and took them away with him. These fants being thus preserved, after they were come man's state, did set upon Tarchetius and slew m. One Promathion an Italian writer, delivereth is story thus. But the report that carrieth best edit of all, and is allowed of by many writers: meth from Diocles Peparethian, (whom

Story of the phallus

Fabius Pictor followeth in many things) who was the first that put forth this story among the Grecians, and specially the chiefest points of it. Though this matter be somewhat diversely taken, yet in effect the story is thus. The right line and blood of the kings of Alba descended from Æneas, by the succession from the father to the son, and the kingdom fell in the end between two brethren, Numitor and Amulius. They agreed by lot to make division between them, whereof the one to have the kingdom, and the other all the gold, silver, ready money, goods, and jewels brought from Troia. Numitor by his lot chose the realm for his portion: Amulius having all the gold and treasure in his hands, did find himself thereby the stronger, and so did easily take his realm from him. And fearing lest his brother's daughter might have children which one day might thrust him out again, he made her a nun of the goddess Vesta, there to pass her days in virginity, and never to be married: (some call her Rhea, others Sylvia, and others Ilia): nevertheless not long after she was found with child, against the rule and profession of the Vestal Nuns. So nothing had saved her from present death, but the petition of Antho the daughter of King Amulius, who entreated her father for her life: yet notwithstanding she was straightly locked up, that nobody could see her, nor speak with her, lest she should be brought to bed without Amulius' knowledge. In the end she was delivered of two fair boys and marvellous great twins: which made Amulius more affraid than before. So he

commanded one of his men to take the two children, and to throw them away, and destroy them. Some say that this servant's name was Faustulus: other think it was he that brought them up. But whosoever he was, he that had the charge to throw them away put them in a trough, and went towards the river with intention to throw them in. Howbeit he found it risen so high, and running so swiftly, that he durst not come near the waters side, and so they being in the trough, he laid them on the bank. In the meantime the river swelling still, and overflowing the bank, in such sort that it came under the trough, did gently lift up the trough, and carried it unto a great plain, called at this present Cermalum, and in the old time Germanum (as I take it) because the Romans called the brothers of father and mother, *germani*. Now there was near unto this place a wild fig-tree which they called *ruminalis*, of the name of Romulus as the most part thought: or else because the beasts feeding there, were wont to come under the same in the extreme heat of the day, and there did ruminate, that is, chew their cud in the shadow: or perhaps because that the two children did suck the teat of the wolf, which the ancient Latins call *ruma*, and they at this day do yet call the goddess on whom they cry out to give their children suck, Rumilia. And in their sacrifices to her they use no wine, but offer up milk and water mingled with honey. To these two children lying there in this sort, they write, there came a she wolf and gave them suck, and a

A she wolf suckles the twins

The hitwaw and the nurse

hitwaw also which did help to nourish and keep them. These two beasts are thought to be consecrated to the god Mars, and the Latins do singularly honour and reverence the hitwaw. This did much help to give credit to the words of the mother, who affirmed she was conceived of those two children, by the god Mars. Howbeit some think she was deceived in her opinion: for Amulius that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce did ravish her. Other hold opinion that the name of the nurse which gave the two children suck with her breasts, gave occasion to common report to err much in this tale, by reason of the double signification thereof. For the Latins do call with one self name she-wolves Lupas, and women that give their bodies to all comers: as this nurse the wife of Faustulus (that brought these children home to her house) did use to do. By her right name she was called Acca Laurentia, unto whom the Romans do sacrifice yet unto this day: and the priest of Mars doth offer unto her, in the moneth of April, the shedding of wine and milk accustomed at burials, and the feast it self is called Laurentia. It is true that they honour also another Laurentia for like occasion. The clerk or sexten of Hercules' temple, not knowing one day how to drive away the time as it should seem: of a certain liveliness and boldness, did desire the god Hercules to play at dice with him, with condition that if he did win, Hercules should be bound to send him some good fortune: and if it were his luck to lose, then he promised

Hercules he would provide him a very good supper, and would besides bring him a fair gentlewoman to lie withal. The conditions of the play thus rehearsed, the sexten first cast the dice for Hercules, and afterwards for himself. It fell out that Hercules wan, and the sexten meaning good faith, and thinking it very meet to perform the bargain that himself had made, prepared a good supper, and hired this Laurentia the courtesan, which was very fair, but as yet of no great fame to come to it. Thus having feasted her within the temple, and prepared a bed ready there, after supper he locked her into the temple, as if Hercules should have come indeed and lyen with her. And it is said for troth, that Hercules came thither: and commanded her in the morning she should go into the market-place and salute the first man she met, and keep him ever for her friend. Which thing she performed, and the first man she met was called Tarrutius, a man of great years, and one that had gathered together marvellous wealth and riches. He had no children at all, neither was he ever married. He fell acquainted with this Laurentia, and loved her so dearly, that shortly after chancing to die, he made her heir of all he had; whereof she disposed afterwards by her last will and testament, the best and greatest part unto the people of Rome. Moreover it is reported also, that she now being grown to be famous and of great honour (as thought to be the lemman of a god) did vanish away suddenly in the self-same place, where the first Laurentia was

Story of Laurentia

Romulus and Remus' education

buried. The place at this day is called Velabrum: because the river being overflown, they were oftentimes compelled to pass by boat to go to the market-place, and they called this manner of ferrying over, *velatura*. Other say, that those tumblers and common players, which shewed sundry games and pastimes to win the favour of the people, were wont to cover that passage over with canvas cloths and veils, by which they go from the market-place to the lists or shew-place where they run their horses, beginning their race even at the place: and they call a veil in their tongue, *velum*. This is the cause why the second Laurentia is honoured at Rome. Faustulus chief neat-herd to Amulius, took up the two children, and no body knew it, as some say: or as other report (and likest to be true) with the privity and knowledge of Numitor, Amulius' brother, who secretly furnished them with money that brought up the two young children. It is said also they were both conveyed unto the city of the Gabians, where they were brought up at school, and taught all other honest things, which they use to teach the sons and children of good and noble men. Further they say they were named Remus and Romulus, because they were found sucking on the teats of a wolf. Now the beauty of their bodies did presently shew, beholding only but their stature and manner of their countenances, of what nature and linage they were: and as they grew in years, their manly courage increased marvellously, so as they became stout and hardy men, in so much as they were never troubled or astonied at any danger that was

offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainly that Romulus had more wit and understanding than his brother Remus. For in all things wherein they were to deal with their neighbours, either concerning hunting, or the bounds and limits of their pastures: it was easily discerned in him, that he was born to command, and not to obey. For this cause they were both exceedingly beloved of their companions, and of those which were their inferiors. As for the king's herdmen, they passed not much for them, saying that they were even like themselves, and so seemed not to care a pin for their anger or displeasure, but wholly gave themselves to gentlemanly exercises and trades, thinking to live idly and at ease without travail, was neither comely nor convenient: but to exercise and harden their bodies with hunting, running, pursuing murderers and thieves, and to help those which were oppressed with wrong and violence, should be credit and commendation to them. By reason whereof, in very short time they grew to great fame and renown. And it fell out by chance there rose some strife and variance between the herdmen of Amulius, and the herdmen of Numitor: in so much as those that were Numitor's, carried away by force some cattell of the others. The other side would not bear that, but pursued fast after, and beating them well-favouredly, they made them take their legs, and brought back again the greatest part of the cattell they had carried away with them. Whereat Numitor stormed marvellously, but yet his men seemed to make but little account of it, and purposing revenge, they gathered

Strife between the herdsmen of Numitor and of Amulius

Remus taken of Numitor's herdmen

about them a good company of vacabounds (that had neither home or resting-place) and certain fugitive bondmen which they enticed ill-favouredly, encouraging them to steal away from their masters. Thus one day whilest Romulus was busy about some sacrifice (being a devout man and religious, and well given to serve the gods and to learn to divine and tell beforehand what things should happen and come to pass) it happened the herdmen of Numitor to meet Remus very slenderly accompanied: so they fell upon him suddenly, blows were dealt roundly on both sides, and men were hurt on either part. Howbeit Numitor's men in the end proved the stronger part, and did take Remus by force and carried him straight before Numitor, alleging many complaints and matters against him. Numitor durst not punish him of his own authority, because he feared his brother Amulius who was somewhat terrible: but went unto him and earnestly besought him to do him justice and not to suffer him being his own brother to receive such injury of his men. There was not a man in the city of Alba, but did greatly mislike the injury done to Numitor: and spake it openly, that he was no person to be offered such a wrong. In so much as Amulius moved herewith, did deliver Remus into his hands, to punish him as he thought good. Whereupon Numitor carried him home with him. But when he had him in his house, he began to consider better of him, with admiration how goodly a young man he was, how in height and strength of body he passed all the rest of his people

and perceiving in his face an assured constancy, and bold stedfast courage that yielded not, nor was abashed for any danger he saw toward him: and hearing also the report of his acts and manhood to be answerable to that he saw: (being chiefly moved in mine opinion, by some secret inspiration of the gods, which ordain the depth of great matters) began partly by conjecture, and partly by chance to take a conceit of him. So he asked him what he was, and who was his father and mother: speaking to him in a more gentle wise, and with a friendlier countenance than before, to make him the bolder to answer, and be of better hope. Remus boldly answered him: Truly I will not hide the troth from thee, for thou seemest to me more worthy to be king, than thy brother Amulius. For thou inquirest, and hearest first before thou condemnest: and he condemneth before he examine or hear the parties. Until now, we thought we had been the children of two of the king's servants, to wit of Faustulus and of Laurentia. I say we, because my brother and I are two twins. But seeing we are now falsely accused unto thee, and by malicious surmised tales are wrongfully brought in danger of our lives: we intend to discover ourselves, and to declare strange things unto thee, whereof the present peril we stand now in, shall plainly prove the troth. Men say that we have been begotten miraculously, fostered and given suck more strangely, and in our tender years were fed by birds and wild beasts, to whom we were cast out as a prey. For a wolf gave us suck with her teats, and an

Remus' oration, declaring the birth of himself and his brother Romulus

Numitor suspects the truth

hitwaw (they say) brought us little crumms, and put them in our mouths, as we lay upon the bank by the river, where we were put in a trough that at this day remaineth whole, bound about with plates of copper, upon the which are some letters engraven half worn out, which peradventure one day will serve for some tokens of knowledge (unprofitable for our parents) when it shall be too late, and after we are dead and gone. Numitor then comparing these words, with the age the young man seemed to be of, and considering well his face: did not reject the hope of his imagination that smiled on him, but handled the matter so, that he found means to speak secretly with his daughter, notwithstanding at that time she was kept very straightly. Faustulus in the mean time hearing that Remus was prisoner, and that the king had delivered him already into the hands of his brother Numitor to do justice, went to pray Romulus to help him, and told him then whose children they were: for before he had never opened it to them but in dark speeches, and glawncing wise, and so much as sufficed to put them in some hope. So Faustulus taking the trough with him at that time, went unto Numitor in great haste, as marvellously affraid for the present danger he thought Remus in. The king's soldiers which warded at the gates of the city, began to gather some suspicion of Faustulus' manner of coming: and he made himself to be the more suspected, being questioned with about the cause of his repair thither, that he faltred in his words: besides, they espied

his trough which he carried under his cloke. Now amongst the warders, there was by chance one that was the man to whom the children were committed to be cast away, and was present when they were left on the bank of the river to the mercy of fortune. This man knew the trough by and by, as well by the fashion, as by the letters graven upon it: who mistrusted straight that which was true indeed. So he did not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the king to tell him the matter, and led Faustulus with him to have him confess the troth. Faustulus being in this perplexity, could not keep all close upon examination, but did utter out somewhat of the matter, and yet he told not all. For he plainly justified the children were alive: yet he said they were far from the city of Alba, where they kept beasts in the fields. And as for the trough, he was going to carry it to Ilia, because she had divers times prayed him to let her see and feel it: to the end she might be more assured of her hope, who promised her that one day she should see her children again. So it chanced unto Amulius at that time, as it commonly doth unto those that are troubled, and do anything in fear or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to send one presently (who in all other things was a very honest man, but a great friend of his brother Numitor's) to ask him if he had heard anything that his daughter's children were alive. This person being come to Numitor's house, found him ready to embrace Remus, who fell to be witness thereof, and of the good hap

Faustulus tells half the truth

Romulus to the rescue

discovered unto Numitor: whereupon he persuaded him how to set upon his brother, and to dispatch the matter with speed. So from that time forwards, he took their part. On the other side also the matter gave them no leisure to defer their enterprise, although they had been willing: for the whole case was somewhat blown abroad. So Romulus then got straight a power, and drew very near the city, and many of the citizens of Alba went out to join with him, who either feared or hated Amulius. Now Romulus' power which he brought (over and besides those citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were divided by hundreds, and every hundred had his captain who marched before his band, carrying little bundels of grass or of boughs tied to the end of their poles. The Latins call these bundels *manipulos*, whereof it cometh that yet at this day in an army of the Romans, the soldiers which are all under one ensign, are called *manipulares*. So Remus stirring up those that were within the city, and Romulus bringing in men from without, the tyrant Amulius fell in such fear and agony, that without providing anything for his safety, they came upon him suddenly in his palace, and slew him. Thus you hear how near Fabius Pictor and Diocles Peparethian do agree in reciting the story, who was the first in mine opinion that wrote the foundation of the city of Rome: howbeit there are that think they are all but fables and tales devised of pleasure. But me thinks for all that, they are not altogether to be rejected or discredited, if we will consider

fortune's strange effects upon times, and of the greatness also of the Roman empire: which had never atchieved to her present possessed power and authority, if the gods had not from the beginning been workers of the same, and if there had not also been some strange cause, and wonderful foundation. Amulius being now slain as before, and after that all things were appeased, and reduced to good order again: Remus and Romulus would not dwell in the city of Alba, being no lords thereof, nor also would be lords of it, so long as their grandfather by the mother's side was alive. Wherefore after they had restored him to his estate, and had done the honour and duty they ought unto their mother: they purposed to go and build a city in those places where they had been first brought up, for this was the most honest colour they could pretend for their departing from Alba. Peradventure they were enforced so to do whether they would or not, for the great number of banished men, and fugitive slaves which were gathered together by them for their strength, who had been utterly lost and cast away, if they had been once discharged by them. Therefore it was of necessity that they should dwell by themselves, separated in some place, to keep this number together and in some order. For it is true that the inhabitants of the city of Alba would not suffer such banished persons and runagates to be mingled amongst them, nor would receive them into their city to be free among them. All which appeareth sufficiently: first, because they took away women by force:

The building of Rome

Strife betwixt Romulus and Remus

and so not of insolence, but of necessity, w
they found no man that would bestow any
them. It is manifest also they did gre
honour and make much of the women they
taken away before. Furthermore, when t
city began a little to be settled, they mad
temple of refuge for all fugitives and affli
persons, which they called the temple of
god Asylæus: where there was sanctuary
safety for all sorts of people that repa
thither, and could get into the temple, for wh
it was alleged they could not deliver any bo
man to his maister, nor detter to his credi
nor murtherer to the justice that was fled thi
for succour, because the oracle of Apollo
Delphian had expressly enjoined them to g
sanctuary to all those that would come thi
for it. So by this means in short space t
city flourished, and was replenished, where
the first foundation of it, they say there was
above one thousand houses, as more at la
hereafter shall be declared. When they c
now to the building of their city, Romulus
Remus the two brethren fell suddenly at a st
together about the place where the city sho
be builded. For Romulus built Rome, which
called foure square, and would needs it sho
remain in the place which he had cho
Remus his brother chose another place v
strong of situation, upon Mount Aventine, wh
was called after his name Remonium, and n
is called Rignarium. Notwithstanding, in
end they agreed between themselves, this c
troversy should be decided by the flying

birds, which do give a happy divination of things to come. So being set in divers places by themselves to make observation, some say that there appeared unto Remus six, and to Romulus twelve vulters. Other say that Remus truly saw six, and Romulus feigned from the beginning that he saw twice as many: but when Remus came to him, then there appeared twelve indeed unto Romulus, and this is the cause why the Romans at this day in their divinations and soothsayings of the flying of birds, do marvellously observe the flying of the vulters. It is true which the historiographer Herodorus Ponticus writeth; that Hercules rejoiced much when there appeared a vulter to him, being ready to begin any enterprise. For it is the fowl of the world that doth least hurt, and never marreth nor destroyeth anything that man doth sow, plant, or set: considering that she feedeth on carrion only, and doth never hurt nor kill any living thing. Also she doth not prey upon dead fowl, for the likeness that is between them: where the eagles, the dukes and the sakers, do murther, kill, and eat those which are of their own kind. And yet as Æschylus saith,— **Virtues of vultures**

> Needs must that fowl accompted be most vile,
> Most ravening, and full of filthy mind,
> Which doth himself, continually defile,
> By preying still upon his proper kind.

Moreover, other birds are always (as a man would say) before our eyes, and do daily show themselves unto us: where the vulter is a very rare bird, and hardly to be seen, and men do

Remus slain by Romulus or Celer

not easily find their ayries. Which had given some occasion to hold a false opinion, that the vulters are passagers, and come into these parts out of strange countries. The prognosticators also think, that such things which are not ordinary, and but seldom seen, be not natural, but miraculously sent by the gods to prognosticate something. When Remus knew how his brother had mocked him, he was very angry with him. And when Romulus had cast a ditch, as it were for the wall about his city, Remus did not only scorn it, but hindered also his work, and in the end for a mockery leapt over his wall. To conclude, he did so much, that at the last he was slain there by Romulus' own hands, as some say: or as other hold opinion, by the hands of one of his men which was called Celer. In this fight they slew Faustulus, and Plistinus also his brother, who had helped him to bring up Romulus. Howsoever the matter fell out, this Celer absented himself from Rome, and went into the country of Tuscany. And they say, that men which are quick, and ready upon a sudden, took their names ever after upon him; and were called Celeres. As amongst others, Quintus Metellus, after the death of his father, having in very few days made the people of Rome to see a combat of fencers (called *gladiatores*) fighting at the sharpe, they surnamed him Celer, for that the Romans marvelled how he could prepare his things in so short a time. Furthermore, Romulus having now buried his brother, and his other two bringers-up (called foster-fathers) in the place they call Remoria:

began then to build and lay the foundation of his city, sending for men out of Tuscany, who did name and teach him particularly all the ceremonies he had to observe there, according to their laws and ordinances as a great holy mystery. And first of all they made a round ditch in the place called at this day Comitium, into which they did cast their chiefest and best things, which men use lawfully for good, and naturally as most necessary. After that they did throw also into it, a little of the earth, from whence every man came, and mingled these all together. This ditch in their ceremonies is called the world, in Latin *mundus*, even the self same name the Latins call the Universal. About this ditch they did trace the compass of the city they would build, even as one would draw a circle about a centre. This done, the founder of the city taketh a plough, to which he fastened a culter or ploughshare of brass, and so yoked in the plough an ox and a cow, he himself holding the plough did make round about the compass of the city a deep furrow. Those which followed him, had the charge to throw the turfs of earth inward into the city, which the ploughshare raised up, and not to leave any of them turned outward. The furrow thus cast up was the whole compass of their wall, which they call in Latin *Pomærium*, by shortning of the syllables, for *post murum*: to wit, after wall. But in the place where they determined to make a gate, they did take off the ploughshare, and draw the plough, with leaving a certain space of earth unbroken up: whereupon

The manner of founding a city

The feast day of Rome's foundation

the Romans think all the compass of their walls holy and sacred, except their gates. For if their gates had been hallowed and sanctified, they would have had a conscience through them to have brought in, or carried out of the city, any things necessary for the life of man, that had not been pure and clean. Now they believe certainly, that this ceremony of the foundation of their city was made the one and twenty of April: because the Romans do yet keep that day holy day, and call it the feast the nativity of their country. On which day they did not in old time sacrifice anything that had life, as esteeming that day (which was the nativity of their city) to be most meet to be kept clean and pure from being polluted or defiled with any blood. Notwithstanding before Rome was builded, they had another feast called the shepherds' or herdmen's holy day, which they did celebrate upon the same day, and called it Palilia. Now at this day the beginnings of the moneths with the Romans is clean contrary to the Grecians: yet for all this, they hold opinion for certainty that the day on which Romulus founded his city, was assuredly that which the Grecians call Triacas: that is to say, the thirtieth day. On which there was seen an eclipse of the moon, which they suppose was observed by the poet Antimachus (born in the city of Teos) in the thirteenth year of the sixt Olympiad. Likewise in the time of Marcus Varro (as a man learned, and one that had read as much of ancient stories as any Roman) there was a friend of his called Tarutius, a great

philosopher and mathematician, who being given to the calculation of astronomy for the delight of speculation only, wherein he was thought most excellent: it did fall out that Varro gave him this question, to search out what hour and day the nativity of Romulus was, who gathered it out by certain accidents, as they do in the resolutions of certain geometrical questions. For they say, that by the self same science, one may tell before of things to come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainly the hour of his nativity: and how one may tell also the hour of his nativity, when by accidents they know what hath happened to him all his life. Tarutius did the question that Varro gave him. And having throughly considered the adventures, deeds, and gests of Romulus, how long he lived, and how he died: all which being gathered and conferred together, he did boldly judge for a certainty, that he was conceived in his mother's womb, in the first year of the second Olympiad, the three and twentith day of the moneth which the Egyptians call Choeac, and now is called December, about three of the clock in the morning, in which hour there was a whole eclipse of the sun: and that he was born into the world, the one and twentith of the moneth of Thoth, which is the moneth of September, about the rising of the sun. And that Rome was begun by him on the ninth day of the moneth which the Egyptians call Pharmuthi, and answereth now to the moneth of April, between two and three of the clock in the morning. For they will say that a city hath his revolution and his time of

A horoscope

Constitution of the new city

continuance appointed, as well as the life of a man: and that they knew by the situation of the stars, the day of her beginning and foundation. These things and such other like, peradventure will please the readers better, for their strangeness and curiosity, than offend or mislike them for their falsehood. Now after that he had founded his city, he first and foremost did divide in two companies, all those that were of age to carry armour. In every one of these companies there were three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen: and they were called Legions, because they were sorted of the chosen men that were pickt out amongst all the rest for to fight. The remain after these were called *populus*, which signifieth the people. After this, he made a hundred counsellors of the best and most honest men of the city, which he called Patricians: and the whole company of them together he called *senatus*, as one would say, the council of the ancients. So they were called Patricians, as some will say, the council of the fathers' lawful children, which few of the first inhabitants could show. It may be, some will say this name was given them of *patrocinium*, as growing of the protection they had by the sanctuary of their city, which word they use at this day in the self same signification: as one that followed Evander into Italy, was called Patron, because he was pitiful, and relieved the poor and little children, and so got himself a name for his pity and humanity. But me thinks it were more like the troth to say, that Romulus did call them so, because he

thought the chiefest men should have a fatherly care of the meaner sort: considering also it was to teach the meaner sort that they should not fear the authority of the greater, nor envy at their honours they had, but rather in all their causes should use their favour and good will, by taking them as their fathers. For even at this present, strangers call those of the Senate, lords or captains: but the natural Romans call them, Patres Conscripti, which is a name of fatherhood and dignity without envy. It is true, that at the beginning they were only called Patres, but sithence, because they were many joined unto the first, they have been named Patres Conscripti, as a man should say, fathers of record together: which is the most honourable name he could have devised to make a difference betwixt the Senators and the people. Futhermore, he made a difference between the chiefer citizens and the baser people, by calling the better sort *patroni*, as much to say, as defenders: and the meaner sort *clientes*, as you would say, followers, or men protected. This did breed a marvellous great love and goodwill among them, making the one much beholding to the other, by many mutual courtesies and pleasures: for the patrons did help the clients to their right, defended their causes in judgement, did give unto them counsel, and did take all their matters in hand. The clients again interchangeably humbled themselves to their patrons, not only in outward honour and reverence towards them, but otherwise did help them with money to marry and advance their daughters, or else to pay their

Patron and client

The ravishment of the Sabine women

debts and credit, if they were poor or deca
There was no law or magistrate that c
compel the patron to be a witness against
client: nor yet the client to witness against
patron. So they increased, and continued,
other rights and offices of amity and friend
together, saving afterwards they thought i
great shame and reproach for the better,
richer, to take reward of the meaner
poorer. And thus of this matter we have spo
sufficiently. Moreover, four moneths after
foundation of the city was laid, Fabius writ
there was a great ravishment of women. T
are some which lay it upon Romulus, who b
then of nature warlike, and given to prophe
and answers of the gods, foretold that his
should become very great and mighty, so as
raised it by wars, and increased it by ar
and he sought out this colour to do misch
and to make war upon the Sabines. To p
this true, some say he caused certain of t
maids by force to be taken away, but not
thirty in number, as one that rather so
cause of wars, than did it for need of marria
which methinks was not likely to be true,
rather I judge the contrary. For seeing
city was incontinently replenished with pe
of all sorts, whereof there were very few
had wives, and that they were men gath
out of all countries, and the most part of t
poor and needy, so as their neighbours disda
them much, and did not look they would
dwell together: Romulus hoping by this vic
taking of their maids and ravishing them, to

an entry into alliance with the Sabines, and to entice them further to join with them in marriage, if they did gently entreat these wives they had gotten, enterprised this violent taking of their maids, and ravishing of them in such a sort. First he made it to be commonly bruited abroad in every place, that he had found the altar of a god hidden in the ground, and he called the name of the god, Consus: either because he was a god of counsel, whereupon the Romans at this day in their tongue call *consilium*, which we call counsel: and the chief magistrates of their city *consules*, as we say counsellers. Other say it was the altar of the god Neptune, surnamed the patron of horses. For this altar is yet at this day within the great lists of the city, and ever covered and hidden, but when they use the running games of their horse race. Other say, because counsel ever must be kept close and secret, they had good reason to keep the altar of this god Consus hidden in the ground. Now others write when it was opened, Romulus made a sacrifice of wonderful joy, and afterwards proclaimed it openly in divers places, that at such a day there should be common plays in Rome, and a solemn feast kept of the god Consus, where all that were disposed to come should be welcome. Great numbers of people repaired thither from all parts. He himself was set in the chiefest seat of the show-place, apparelled fair in purple, and accompanied with the chief of his city about him. And there having purposed this ravishment you have heard of, he had given

Romulus' craft about the ravishment of the Sabines' daughters

The number of the Sabine women ravished

the sign before: that the same should b
when he should rise up and fold a plai
his gown, and unfold the same again. H
upon his men stood attending with their swo
who so soon as they perceived the sign was gi
with their swords drawn in hand, and with
shouts and cries ran violently on the maids
daughters of the Sabines to take them away
ravish them, and suffered the men to
away, without doing them any hurt or viole
So some say, there were but thirty ravis
after whose names were called the thirty lin
of the people of Rome. Howbeit Val
Antias writeth, that there were five hun
and seven and twenty: and Juba, six hun
four score and three. In the which is singu
to be noted for the commendation of Rom
that he himself did take then but only on
the maids, named Hersilia: that afterwards
the only cause and mediation of peace bet
the Sabines and the Romans. Which arg
plainly, that it was not to do the Sabines
hurt, nor to satisfy any disordinate lust,
they had so forcibly undertaken this ra
ment: but to join two peoples together,
the straightest bonds that could be between
This Hersilia as some say, was married
one Hostilius, the noblest man at that
amongst the Romans: or as others write,
Romulus himself, which had two childrer
her. The first was a daughter, and her
was Prima, because she was the first: the
was a son, whom he named Aollius, becau
the multitude of people he had assembled tog

in his city, and afterwards he was surnamed Abillius. Thus Zenodotus the Troezenian writeth, wherein notwithstanding there be divers that do contrary him. Among those which ravished then the daughters of the Sabines, it is said there were found certain mean men carrying away a marvellous passing fair one. These met by chance on the way, certain of the chief of the city, who would have taken her by force from them, which they had done, but that they began to cry, they carried her unto Talasius, who was a young man marvellously well beloved of everybody. Which when the others understood, they were exceeding glad, and they commended them: insomuch as there were some which suddenly turned back again, and did accompany them for Talasius' sake, crying out aloud, and often on his name. From whence the custom came, which to this day the Romans sing at their marriages, Talasius, like as the Grecians sing Hymenæus. For it is said he was counted very happy that he met with this woman. But Sextius Sylla a Carthaginian born, a man very wise, and well learned, told me once it was the cry and sign which Romulus gave to his men, to begin the ravishment: whereupon those which carried them away, went crying this word Talasius, and that from thence the custom hath continued, that they sing it yet at their marriages. Nevertheless the most part of authors, especially Juba, think it is a warning to remember the new married women of their work, which is to spin, which the Grecians call Talasia, the Italian word at that time

Why the Romans do sing the name of Talasius in marriages

Marriage by capture

being not mingled with the Greek. And if it true the Romans used this term of Talasia, as of Greece do use: we might by conject yield another reason for it, which should ca a better likelihood and proof. For when Sabines after the battell, had made peace w the Romans, they put in an article in favour the women in the treaty, that they should be bound to serve their husbands in any ot work, but in spinning of wool. Ever si this custom hath grown, that those which g their daughters in marriage, and those who l the bride, and such as are present at the weddi speak in sport to the new married wife, laughi Talasius: in token that they do not lead bride for any other work or service, but to s wool. Thereof this hath been the use to t day, that the bride doth not of her self co over the threshold of her husband's door, she is hoised prettily into the house: beca the Sabine women at that time were so lift and carried away by force. They say also, t the manner of making the shed of the r wedded wife's hair, with the iron head of javeling, came up then likewise: this st being a manifest token that these first marria were made by force of arms, and as it were the sword's point: as we have written more large in the book, wherein we render and sh the causes of the Romans' fashions and custo This ravishment was put in execution about eighteenth day of the moneth then called Sexti and now named August: on which day they celebrate the feast they call Consalia. Now

Sabines were good men of war, and had great numbers of people, but they dwelt in villages, and not within enclosed walls: being a thing fit for their noble courages that did fear nothing, and as those who were descended from the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless, they seeing themselves bound and tied to peace by pledges and hostages, that were very near allied unto them, and fearing their daughters should be ill entreated: sent ambassadors to Romulus, by whom they made reasonable offers and persuasions, that their daughters might be delivered unto them again, without any force or violence, and then afterwards, that he would cause them to be asked in marriage of their parents, as both reason and law would require. To the end that with good will and consent of all parties, both peoples might contract amity and alliance together. Whereunto Romulus made answer, he could not restore the maids which his people had taken away and married: but most friendly he prayed the Sabines to be contented with their alliance. This answer being returned, and not liked, whilst the princes and communalty of the Sabines were occupied in consultation, and about the arming of themselves: Acron king of the Ceninenses (a man exceeding courageous and skilful in the wars, and one that from the beginning mistrusted the over bold and stout enterprises that Romulus was likely to attempt, considering the late ravishment of the Sabines daughters, and how he was already greatly dreaded of his neighbours, and somewhat untolerable, if he were not chastised and brought lower) first began to

Acron King of the Ceninenses maketh war with Romulus

The trophy of arms

invade him with a puissant army, and to make hot and violent wars upon him. Romulus on the other side prepared also, and went forth to meet him. When they were come so near together that they might see one another, they sent defiance to each other, and prayed that they two might fight man to man amidst their armies, and neither of theirs to stir a foot. Both of them accepted of it, and Romulus making his prayer unto Jupiter, did promise, and made a vow: that if he did give him the victory to overcome, he would offer up to him the armour of his enemy, which he did. For first he slew Acron in the field, and afterwards gave battell to his men, and overthrew them also. Lastly he took his city, where he did no hurt nor yet displeasure to any, saving that he did command them to pull down their houses, and destroy them, and to go dwell with him at Rome: where they should have the self same rights and privileges which the first inhabitants did enjoy There was nothing more enlarged the city of Rome, than this manner of policy, to join always unto it those she had overcome and vanquished. Romulus now to discharge his vow, and in such sort that his offering might be acceptable to Jupiter, and pleasant to his citizens to behold: did cut down a goodly straight grown young oak, which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his camp did lie. The same he trimmed and did set forth after the manner of victory, hanging and tying all about it in fair order, the armour and weapons of King Acron. Then he girding his gown to him, and putting upon

his long bush of hair a garland of laurel, laid the young oak upon his right shoulder, and he first marched before towards his city, and sung a royal song of victory, all his army following him in arms unto the city in order of battell: where his citizens received him in all passing wise and triumph. This noble and stately entry ever since hath given them minds in such sort, and in statelier wise to make their triumph. The offering of this triumph was dedicated to Jupiter surnamed Feretrian: because the Latin word *ferire*, signifieth to hurt and kill: and the prayer Romulus had made, was, he might hurt and kill his enemy. Such spoils are called in Latin, *Spolia opima*: therefore saith Varro, that *opes* signify riches. Howbeit methinks it were more likely to say, that they were so named of this word *opus*, which betokeneth a deed, because he must needs be the chief of the army, that hath slain with his own hands the general of his enemies, and that must offer the spoils called *Spolia opima*, as you would say, his principal spoils and deeds. This never happened yet but to three Roman captains only: of the which Romulus was the first, who slew Acron, king of the Ceninenses. Cornelius Cossus was the second, who killed Tolumnius, the general of the Tuscans. Clodius Marcellus was the third, who slew Britomartus, king of the Gauls, with his own hands. And for the two last, Cossus and Marcellus, they made their entry into the city, carrying their triumphs upon charrets triumphant: but Romulus did not so. Therefore in this point Dionysius the historiographer hath

Three Romans only obtained spolia opima

Tarpeia betrayeth the castle

erred, writing that Romulus did enter into Rome upon a charret triumphant. For it was Tarquinius Priscus the son of Demaratus, who first did set out triumphs in so stately and magnificent show. Other hold opinion it was Valerius Publicola who was the first that ever entered upon triumphant charret. Concerning Romulus, his statues are yet to be seen in Rome, carrying his triumph afoot. After this overthrow and taking of the Ceninenses, the inhabitants of the cities of Fidena, Crustumerium, and Antemna, rose all together against the Romans while the other Sabines also were preparing themselves. So they fought a battell, in which they took the overthrow: and left their cities to the spoil of Romulus, their lands to be given where he thought good, and themselves to be carried to Rome. Romulus then did give their lands among his citizens, except those lands which did belong to the fathers of the maidens that they had taken away and ravished. For he was contented that the fathers of them should keep still their lands. By and by the other Sabines stomacking thereat, did choose them a general called Tatius, and so went with a puissant army toward the city of Rome, whereunto to approach at that time it was very hard, the castle or keep of their city being seated, where at this day the Capitol standeth, within which there was a great garrison, whereof Tarpeius was captain, and not his daughter Tarpeia, as some will say, who set out Romulus as a fool. But Tarpeia the captain's daughter, for the desire she had to have all the gold bracelets, which they did wear about

their arms, sold the fort to the Sabines, and asked for reward of her treason, all they did wear on their left arms. Tatius promised them unto her: and she opened them a gate in the night, by the which she did let all the Sabines into the castle. Antigonus then was not alone, who said, he loved those which did betray, and hated them that had betrayed: nor yet Cæsar Augustus, who told Rhymitalces the Thracian, that he loved treason, but he hated traitors. And it is a common affection which we bear to wicked persons, whilest we stand in need of them: not unlike for all the world to those which have need of the gall and poison of venomous beasts. For when they find it, they are glad, and take it to serve their turn: but after their turn is served, and they have that they sought, they hate the cruelty of such beasts. So played Tatius at that time. For when he was gotten into the castle, he commanded the Sabines (for performance of his promise he had made to Tarpeia) they should not stick to give her all they wore on their left arms, and to do as he did: who taking from his own left arm first, the bracelets which he wore, did cast it to her, and his target after. And so did all the rest in like sort, insomuch as being borne down to the ground by the weight of bracelets and targets, she died as pressed to death under her burden. Nevertheless Tarpeius' self was attainted, and condemned also of treason, by Romulus' order, as Juba saith, it is set forth by Sulpicius Galba. They that write now otherwise of Tarpeia, saying she was the daughter of

Tarpeia pressed to death

The Tarpeian Rock

Tatius, general of the Sabines, and was forced by Romulus to lie with him, and how she was punished in this sort by her own father after her said treason committed: those I say, amongst whom Antigonus is one, are not to be credited. And the poet Simulus also doth dote most, who saith Tarpeia sold the Capitol not to the Sabines, but to the King of Gaul, with whom she was in love: as in these verses doth appear.

Tarpeïa, that maid of foolish mind,
Which near unto the Capitol did dwell
(In fervent flames, of beastly love be-blind,
Wherewith the King of Gauls did make her swell)
Caus'd stately Rome surprised for to be
By enemies, as every man may see.
And so through hope of his fidelity
Betrayed her sire, with all his family.

And a little after, in speaking of the manner of her death, he saith also:

Yet lo: the Gauls, those worthy men of might,
Threw her not down into the waves of Po,
But from their arms, wherewith they wont to fight,
They cast their shields upon her body so,
That she surprest with such an heavy weight,
(Ah woeful maid) to death was smoothred straight.

This maiden therefore being buried in the same place, the whole hill was called afterwards Tarpeius after her name, which continued until Tarquinius the King did dedicate all the place to Jupiter: for then they carried her bones into some other place, and so it lost her name. Unless it be that rock of the Capitol, which at this present time they call Rupes Tarpeia, from

the top whereof they were wont in old time to throw down headlong all wicked offenders. When the Sabines now had gotten this hold, Romulus being exceeding wroth, sent them a defiance, and bade them battle if they durst. Tatius straight refused not, considering if by mischance they were distressed, they had a sure refuge to retire unto. The place between the two armies where the fight should be, was all round about environed with little hills. So as it was plain, the fight could not be but sharp and dangerous, for the discommodiousness of the place, where was neither ground for any to fly, nor yet any space for any long chase, it was of so small a compass. Now it fortuned by chance, the river of Tiber had overflown the banks a few days before, and there remained in it a deeper mud then men would have judged, because the ground was so plain, and was even where the great market-place of Rome standeth at this day. They could discern nothing thereof by the eye, because the upper part of it was crusted, whereby it was the more ready for them to venter upon, and the worse to get out, for that it did sink underneath. So the Sabines had gone upon it, had not Curtius' danger been, which by good fortune stayed them. He was one of the noblest and most valiant man of the Sabines, who being mounted upon a courser, went on a good way before the army. This courser entering upon the crusted mud, and sinking withal began to plunge and struggle in the mire: whereat Curtius proved a while with the spur to stir him, and get him out, but in the end

Curtius the Sabine

The Sabines give battell to Romulus

seeing it would not be, he left his back and saved himself. The same very place to this day is called after his name, Lacus Curtius. The Sabines then escaping thus this danger, began the battell. The fight did grow very cruel, and endured for a great while, the victory leaning no more to the one side than to the other. There died in a small space a great number of men, amongst whom Hostilius was one, who as they say was the husband of Hersilia, and grandfather to Hostilius that was King of Romans after Numa Pompilius. Afterwards there were (as we may think) many other encounters and battells between them: howbeit they make mention of the last above all the rest, wherein Romulus had so sore a blow on his head with a stone, that he was almost felled to the ground, in so much as he was driven to retire a little out of the battell. Upon which occasion the Romans gave back also, and drew towards Mount Palatine, being driven out of the plain by force. Romulus began now to recover of the blow he had received, and so returned to give a new onset, and cried out all he might to his soldiers to tarry, and show their face again to their enemy. But for all his loud crying, they left not flying still for life, and there was not one that durst return again. Whereupon Romulus lifting up his hands straight to heaven, did most fervently pray unto Jupiter, that it would please him to stay the flying of his people, and not suffer the Romans' glory thus to fall to their utter destruction, but to repair it by his favour again. He had no sooner ended his prayer, but divers of

his men that fled, began to be ashamed to fly before their king, and a sudden boldness came upon them, and their fear therewithal vanished away. The place they first stayed in was, whereas now is the temple of Jupiter Stator, which is as much to say, as Jupiter the Stayer. Afterwards gathering themselves together again they repulsed the Sabines even to the place they call now Regia, and unto the temple of the goddess Vesta: where both the battells being prepared to give a new charge, there did fall out before them, a strange and incredible thing to see, which stayed them they fought not. For of the Sabine women whom the Romans had ravished, some ran of the one side, others of the other side of the battells, with lamentations, cries, and shouts, stepping between their weapons, and among the slain bodies on the ground, in such sort that they seemed out of their wits, and carried as it were with some spirits. In this manner they went to find out their fathers and their husbands, some carrying their sucking babes in their arms, other having their hair loose about their eyes, and all of them calling, now upon the Sabines, now upon the Romans, with the gentelest names that could be devised: which did melt the hearts of both parties in such sort, that they gave back a little, and made them place between both the battells. Then were the cries and lamentations of every one plainly heard. There was not a man there but it pitied him, as well to see them in that pitiful case, as to hear the lamentable words they spake: adding to their most humble petitions

A wonderful boldness of the women

The words of the Sabine women unto both armies

and requests that could be any way imagined, passing wise persuasions and reasons to induce them to a peace. For what offence (said they) or what displeasure have we done to you, that we should deserve such an heap of evils, as we have already suffered, and yet you make us bear? We were as you know violently (and against all law) ravished by those, whose now we remain. But our fathers, our brethren, our mothers and friends have left us with them so long, that process of time, and the straightest bonds of the world, have tied us now so fast to them, whom mortally before we hated, that we are constrained now to be slighted thus, to see them fight, yea and to lament and die with them, who before unjustly took us from you. For then you came not to our rescue when we were virgins untouched, nor to recover us from them when they wickedly assaulted us, poor souls: but now you come to take the wives from their husbands, and the mothers from their little children. So as the help you think to give us now doth grieve us more, than the forsaking of us was sorrowful to us then. Such is the love they have borne unto us, and such is the kindness we bear again to them. Now, if ye did fight for any other cause than for us, yet were it reason ye should let fall your arms for our sakes (by whom you are made grandfathers and fathers-in-law, cousins and brothers-in-law) even from those against whom you now bend your force. But if all this war began for us, we heartily beseech you then that you will receive us with your sons-in-law, and

your sons by them, and that you will restore unto us our fathers, our brethren, our kinsfolk and friends, without spoiling us of our husbands, of our children, and of our joys, and thereby make us woeful captives and prisoners in our minds. These requests and persuasions by Hersilia, and other the Sabine women being heard, both the armies stayed, and held every body his hand, and straight the two generals imparled together. During which parle they brought their husbands and their children, to their fathers and their brethren. They brought meat and drink for them that would eat. They dressed up the wounds of them that were hurt. They carried them home with them to their houses. They shewed them how they were mistresses there with their husbands. They made them see how greatly they were accompted of and esteemed; yea how with a wedlock love and reputation they were honoured. So in the end peace was concluded between them, wherein it was articled, that the Sabine women which would remain with their husbands should tarry still, and be exempted from all work or service (as above recited) save only spinning of wool. And that the Sabines and Romans should dwell together in the city, which should be called Roma, after Romulus' name: and the inhabitants should be called Quirites, after the name of the city of Tatius King of the Sabines, and that they should reign and govern together by a common consent. The place where this peace was concluded, is called yet to this day Comitium: because that *coire*, in the Latin

Romulus and Tatius imparle together

Honours given to women

tongue, signifieth to assemble. So the city being augmented by the one half, they did choose of the Sabines another hundred new Patricians, unto the first hundred of the Romans that were chosen before. Then were the Legions made of six thousand footmen, and six hundred horsemen. After they divided their inhabitants into three Tribes, whereof those that came of Romulus, were called Ramnenses after his name: those that came of Tatius were called Tatienses after his name: and those that were of the third stock, were called Lucerenses, as from the Latin word *lucus*, called with us a grove in English, because thither great number of people of all sorts did gather, which afterwards were made citizens of Rome. The very word of Tribus (which signifieth bands, wards, or hundreds) doth witness this beginning of Rome from wards, or hundreds. For hereupon the Romans call those at this day, their Tribunes, which are the chief heads of the people. But every one of these principal wards had afterwards ten other particular wards under them, which some think were called after the names of the thirty Sabine women that were ravished: but that seemeth false, because many of them carry the names of the places they came from. Howbeit at that time many things were established and ordained in honour of women: as to give them place, the upper hand in meeting them, the upper hand in streets: to speak no foul or dishonest word before them, no man to unray himself, or shew naked before them: that they should not be called before criminal judges

sitting upon homicides and murderers: that their children should wear about their necks a kind of a jewel, called *bulla*, fashioned in manner like these water-bubbles that rise upon the water when it beginneth to rain: and that their gowns should be guarded with purple. Now the two kings did not straight confer together so soon as any occasion of business was offered them, but either of them did first counsel alone with his hundred Senators, and afterwards they did all assemble together. Tatius dwelt in the place where now is the temple of Juno Moneta: Romulus in the place called at this present, the stairs of the fair bank, then the descent of Mount Palatine, as they go to the show-place or great lists, where they say was sometime the holy cornel tree, whereof they make so great account. Romulus one day desirous to prove his strength, threw (as it is said) a dart from Mount Aventine toward Mount Palatine. The staff whereof was of a cornel tree: and the iron of it entered so deep into the ground being a lusty fat soil, that no man could pull it out, although many proved it, and did the best they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring forth trees, did so nourish the end of this staff, that it took root, and began to spread branches: so that in time it became a fair great cornel tree, which the successors of Romulus did enclose with a wall, and did keep and worship it as a very holy thing. If by chance any went to see it, and found it looked not fresh and green, but like a tree withered and dried away for lack of moisture: he went away straight as one affraid,

The holy cornel tree

act crying to all he met (and they with him went
ion crying still) in every place, water, water, as it had been to have quenched a fire. Then ran they thither out of all quarters with vessels of water, to water and moist the tree. In the time of Caius Cæsar, who caused the stairs about it to be repaired: they say the labourers raising the place, and digging about this cornel tree, did by negligence hurt the roots of the same in such sort, as afterwards it dried up altogether. Now the Sabines received the moneths after the manner of the Romans, whereof we have written sufficiently in the life of Numa. Romulus again used the Sabines' shields: and both he and his people changed the fashion of their armour and the weapons they used. For the Romans before did carry little shields after the fashion of the Argives. As for either of their holy days and sacrifices, they kept them both altogether, and did not take away any of them, which either the one or the other people observed before, but they added thereunto some other new. As that which they call Matronalia, which was instituted in honour of the women, because by their means peace was concluded. And that also of Carmentalia, in the honour of Carmenta, whom some suppose to be the goddess of fate or destiny, because she hath rule and power over the nativities of men, by reason whereof, the mothers call upon her often, and reverence her very much. Others say she was the wife of Evander, the Arcadian, who being a prophetess inspired by the god Phœbus, gave the oracles in verse, whereupon she was surnamed Carmenta, because that *carmina* in

1 signifies verses: for it is of certainty that **The feast of Lupercalia**
roper name was Nicostrata. Howbeit there
some which give another manner of deriva-
and interpretation of this word Carmenta,
h is the likelier to be true: as if they
d say, *carens mente:* which signifieth want-
vit, for the very fury that taketh them when
are inspired with the prophetical spirit.
in Latin *carere* betokeneth to lack: and
signifieth wit. As for the feast of
ia, we have told of it before: but the feast
upercalia, considering the time of celebrat-
hereof, it seemeth it is ordained for a purifi-
n. For it is celebrated on the unfortunate
of the month of February, which are
d the purging days. The days in the old
on which they did celebrate the same, were
d Februata. But the proper name of the
is as much to say, as the feast of Wolves.
refore it seemeth to be a feast of great an-
ty, and instituted by the Arcadians, which
in with Evander: albeit the name of wolves
common to the females, as the males, and
might perhaps be called, by reason of the
that brought up Romulus. For we see
which run up and down the city that
and they call Luperci, do begin their
se in the very place where they say Romulus
cast out. Howbeit many things are done,
eof the original cause were hard now to
onjectured. For goats about a certain time
he year, are killed, then they bring two
g boys, noble men's sons, whose foreheads
touch with the knife bebloodied with the

Why the Luper-cians do run through the city naked

blood of the g
by they dry t
in milk. The
immediately afte
heads. That d
and make thong
their hands, and
city stark naked
before their secre
these thongs all t
young wives do
are well contented
believing it helpeth
also to be easily de
thing yet in this fe
which run about the c
Concerning this feast,
doth write somewhat in
ing the occasions of the
monies of the Roma
Romulus after that he h
run straight with great jo
where the wolf gave him
in memory of which runnin
of Lupercalia was celebrated
men's younger sons do ru
striking and laying on them w
their way with their goat thon
Remus and Romulus ran from
place, with their drawn sword
And that the touching of their f
bloody knife, is in remembrance
they stood in at that time to ha
Last of all, the drying of their fo

wool dipped in milk, is in memory of the milk they sucked of the wolves. But Caius Acilius writeth, that Remus and Romulus before Rome was built, did happen to lose their beasts on a day, and after they had made certain prayers unto Faunus for the finding of them, they ran here and there stark naked as they went a-seeking of them, for fear they should have bin troubled with overmuch heat and sweating. And this is the cause he saith, why the Lupercians do at this day run about naked. And if it be true, they make this sacrifice for a purging, a man might say they might offer up a dog for that purpose, like as the Grecians in their sacrifices of purgation, do use to carry out all their dogs. And in many places they do observe this ceremony, to drive out the dogs, which they call *periscylacismos*. Otherwise, if it be of a thankfulness to the wolf that gave Romulus suck, and saved him from perishing, that the Romans do solemnise this feast: it is not impertinent they should sacrifice a dog, because he is an enemy to the wolves. Unless a man would say it was to punish this beast, which troubleth and letteth the Lupercians when they run. Some say also it was Romulus, who first instituted it a religion to keep holy fire, and that first ordained holy virgins, which are called Vestals: others do ascribe it to Numa Pompilius. Notwithstanding it is most certain otherwise, that Romulus was a very devout man, and greatly skilful in telling of things to come by the flying of birds: for which cause he did ordinarily carry the augur's crooked staff, called in Latin

The Vestal nuns and holy fire

Romulus' laws

lituus. It is a rod crooked at the end, where-with the augurs or soothsayers when they sit down to behold the flying of birds, do point out and mark the quarters of the heavens. They carefully kept it within the palace: howbeit it was lost in the time of wars with the Gauls, when the city of Rome was taken. Afterwards when these barbarous people were chased and driven out, it was found again (as it is said) all whole, within a great hill or heap of ashes, having no manner of hurt, where all things else about it had been consumed and marred with the fire. He is said to have made certain laws, among which there is one that seemeth somewhat hard, which is: that the man is suffered to put away his wife, and in some case to give her nothing: and like liberty is not given to the wife to put away her husband. As if she may be proved to have consented to the poisoning of her children, or to have counterfeited her husband's keys, or to have committed adultery. But if he put her away for any other cause, then the one-half of the goods is adjudged to the wife, and the other moiety to the goddess Ceres: and he that putteth away his wife after this sort, is commanded further to sacrifice to the gods of the earth. This also was notable in Romulus, who having ordained no pain nor punishment for parricides (that is, for those that kill their parents) called yet all murther parricide, to shew how destestable that murther was, and as for parricides, he thought it unpossible. And it seemed a great while, he had reason to think so, that such wickedness would never happen in the

world. For in six hundred years together it was not known that any man in Rome committed such an offence: and the first parricide with them was Lucius Hostius, after the wars of Hannibal. But enough touching this matter. Furthermore in the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, some of his kinsmen and friends met by chance on the way certain ambassadors, coming from the city of Laurentum unto Rome, whom they set upon, and meant to have robbed them. The ambassadors resisting them, and not willing to deliver their money, they made no more ado, but slew them. This hainous deed being thus committed, Romulus was of opinion they should be executed openly in the highway for example. But Tatius deferred it still from day to day, and did always excuse the matter unto him, which was the only cause, they fell out one with the other. For in all things else, they carried themselves as honestly as might be the one to the other, ruling and governing together, with a common consent and good accord. But the parents and kinsfolks of those who were murdered, when they saw they could have no justice because of Tatius: watched him one day as he sacrificed with Romulus, in the city of Lavinium, and stabbed him in, without offering Romulus any violence, but rather praised him for a good and righteous prince. Romulus caused the body of Tatius to be straight taken up, and buried him very honourably in Mount Aventine, about the place now called Armilustrium. Further he never showed any countenance to revenge his death. There are some historiographers that write, that those of

The death of Tatius in Lavinium

Romulus took the city of Fidenæ

the city of Laurentum being afraid at thi murder, did deliver forthwith to Romulus th murderers of the ambassadors. He notwith standing did let them go again, saying: on murther was requited by another. This gav some occasion of speech to think, he was gla he was rid of his companion: yet the Sabin neither stirred nor rebelled for all this, but som of them were afraid of him for the great lo they bare him, other for his power he was o and other for the honour they gave him as god, continuing still in duty and obedience tc wards him. Divers strangers also had Romulu valiancy in great honour, as amongst othe those who then were called the ancient Latin which sent ambassadors to him to make leagu and amity with him. He devised to take th city of Fidenæ which was near neighbo to Rome. Some say he took it upon a sudde having sent before certain horsemen to brea down the hooks and hinges with force, whic the gates hang by: and himself came after wi the rest of his army, and stale upon them, befo the city mistrusted anything. Other write th the Fidenates first invaded his country, an foraged unto the very suburbs of Rome, whe they did great harm: and how Romulus laid a ambush in their way as they returned hom and slew a great number of them. When h took their city, he did not raze it, but made colony of it (as a place to send the ove increase of Rome unto) whither he sent afterwar two thousand five hundred Romans to inhab there: and it was on the thirteenth day

April, which the Romans call the Ides of the same moneth. Not long after there rose such a great plague in Rome, that men died suddenly, and were not sick: the earth brought forth no fruit: brute beasts delivered no increase of their kind: there rained also drops of blood in Rome, as they say. In so much as besides the evils men felt in this extremity, they fell in a marvellous fear of the wrath of the gods. Afterwards perceiving the like happened to the inhabitants of Laurentum, then every man judged it was the very vengeance and heavy hand of the gods, who plagued and punished these two cities for the murder committed upon Tatius, and the ambassadors that were killed. Whereupon the murderers of both sides were apprehended and executed: and these plagues by and by ceased both in the one and the other city. Romulus besides, did purify the cities with certain sacrifices that he devised, which they keep still at this day, at the gate called Ferentina. But before the plague ceased, the Camerines came to assault the Romans, and had overcome all the country, supposing they should not be able to withstand them, because they had been so sore troubled with the plague. Yet notwithstanding, Romulus set upon them with his army, and wan the field of them, in which conflict there were slain about six thousand men. After the battell done, he took their city, and conveyed to Rome the one half of the inhabitants that remained. After this, he sent twice as many Romans as there were natural Camerians left at Camerine, to dwell there among them. This was done the first

Camerium taken of Romulus

The Veians claim Fidenæ

day of August: so great was the multitude of the inhabitants of Rome that had increased in sixteen years from the first foundation of the city. Among other spoils he got there, he carried away a chariot of brass with four horses, which he caused to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, and his own statue upon it, and Victory crowning him with a garland triumphant. His power being grown thus great, his weak neighbours did submit themselves unto him, being contented to live in peace by him. His stronger neighbours were afraid of him, and envied much his greatness, and did take it no good policy to suffer him thus to rise in the face of the world, and thought it meet speedily to daunt his glory, and clip his wings. The first of the Tuscans that bent their power against him, were the Veians, who had a great country, and dwelt in a strong and mighty city. To pick a quarrel to him, they sent to have redelivered to them the city of Fidenæ, which they said belonged unto them. This was thought not only unreasonable, but a thing worthy laughing at, considering that all the while the Fidenates were in war, and danger, the Tuscans never came to their aid, but had suffered them to be slain, and then came to demand their lands and tenements, when others had possession of them. Therefore Romulus having given them an answer full of mockery, and derision, they divided their power into two armies, and sent the one against them of Fidenæ, and with the other they marched towards Rome. That which went against the city of Fidenæ, prevailed, and killed

ıere two thousand Romans: the other was verthrown and discomfited by Romulus, in vhich there died eight thousand Veians. Aftervards, they met again somewhat near the city f the Fidenates, where they fought a battell: nd all did confess, the chiefest exploit was lone by Romulus' own hands that day, who hewed all the skill and valiantness that was to e looked for in a worthy captain. It seemed hat day, he far exceeded the common sort of nen, in strength of body and feats of arms. Nevertheless that which some say, is hardly to e credited: and to be plain, is out of all ompass of belief and possibility. For they vrite, there were fourteen thousand men slain at hat battell, and that more than half of them vere slain by Romulus' own hands: and the ather, for that every man judgeth it a vain rag and ostentation which the Messenians report f Aristomenes, who offered in sacrifice to the ods three hundred beasts of victory, as for o many Lacedæmonians himself had slain in the attell. Their army being thus broken, Romulus affered them to fly who by swiftness could save iemselves, and marched with all his power in ood array towards their city. The citizens ien considering their late great loss and overarow, would not hazard the danger of withanding him, but went out all together, and made heir humble petition and suit for peace. All vas granted them for a hundred years, save they hould forego their territory called Septempagium, hat was the seventh part of their country: and ield to the Romans all their salt-houses by the

The incredible valiantness of Romulus

Prosperity increase of pride and stomack

river's side, and deliver fifty of their chiefest citizens for their pledges. Romulus made his entry and triumph into Rome for them, the day of the Ides of October, which is the fifteenth day of the same moneth, leading in his triumph many prisoners taken in those wars: and among others, the general of the Veians, a very ancient man who fondly behaved himself in his charge, and shewed by his doings, that his experience was far short for his years in the wars. And from thence it cometh, when they offer to the gods to give thanks for this victory, that even at this day, they bring to the Capitol through the market-place, an old man apparelled in a purple robe, and with a jewel called *bulla* about his neck, which the gentlemen's young children wear about their necks: and a herald goeth hard by him, crying, Who buyeth, who, the Sardianians? because they hold opinion the Tuscans are come of the Sardinians, and the very city of Veies standeth in the country of Tuscany. This was the last war that Romulus had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wont to happen almost to all those, who by sudden prosperity, and fortune's special favour, are raised to high and great estate. For trusting to prosperity and good success of his acts, he began to grow more strange and stately, and to carry a sourer countenance than he was wont to do before: leaving to be after his old manner, a courteous and gracious prince: and gave himself in fashions to be somewhat like a tyrant, both for his apparel, and stately port and majesty that he carried. For he ware ever a coat of purple in

grain, and upon that, a long robe of purple colour: and gave audience, sitting in a wide chair of state, having ever about him young men called Celeres, as we would say, flights, for their swiftness and speed in executing of his commandments. Other there were that went before him, who carried as it were tipstaves in their hands, to make the people give room, and had leather thongs about their middle to bind fast straight, all the prince should command. Now in old time the Latins said, *ligare* was to bind (but at this present they say *alligare*), from whence it cometh that the ushers and sergeants are called Lictores. Howbeit methinks it were more likely to say, they had put to a *c*, and that before they were called Litores, without a *c*. For they be the very same which the Grecians call *liturgos*, and be in English, ministers or officers: and at this day, leïton, or *laos*, in the Greek tongue signifieth the people. Romulus now after his grandfather Numitor was dead at the city of Alba, and that the realm by inheritance fell to him: to win the favour of the people there, turned the kingdom to a common weal, and every year did choose a new magistrate to minister justice to the Sabines. This president taught the noble men of Rome to seek and desire to have a free estate, where no subject should be at the commandment of a king alone, and where every man should command and obey as should be his court. Those which were called Patricians in Rome, did meddle with nothing, but had only an honourable name and robe, and were called to counsel

Romulus converteth the kingdom of Alba to a common weal

Julius Proculus met with Romulus after his vanishing

would be unto them a merciful and gracious god. The meaner sort of people (for the most part of them) took it well, and were very glad to hear thereof, and went their way worshipping Romulus in their hearts, with good hope they should prosper by him. Howbeit some seeking out the truth more eagerly did cumber sore, and troubled the Patricians: accusing them, that they abused the common people with vain and fond persuasions, whilst themselves in the meantime had murdered the king with their own hands. While things were thus in hurly burly, some say there was one Julius Proculus, the noblest of all the Patricians, being esteemed for a marvellous honest man, and known to have been very familiar with Romulus, and came with him from the city of Alba: that stepped forth before all the people, and affirmed (by the greatest and holiest oaths a man might swear) that he had met Romulus on the way, far greater and fairer, than he had seen him ever before, and armed all in white armour, shining bright like fire: whereat being affraid in that sort to see him, he asked him yet: O King, why hast thou thus left and forsaken us, that are so falsely accused and charged to our utter discredit and shame, by thy vanishing? To whom Romulus gave this answer. Proculus, it hath pleased the gods from whom I came, that I should remain amongest men so long as I did: and now having built a city, which in glory and greatness of empire shall be the chiefest of the world, that I should return again to dwell with them, as before, in heaven. Therefore be

f good comfort, and tell the Romans, that they xercising prowess and temperancy, shall be the nightiest and greatest people of the world. As or me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, rotector, and patron, and they shall call me Quirinus. These words seemed credible to the Romans, as well for the honesty of the man hat spake them, as for the solemn oaths he nade before them all. Yet I wot not how, ome celestial motion, or divine inspiration helped t much: for no man said a word against it. And so all suspicion and accusation laid aside, very man began to call upon Quirinus, to pray nto him, and to worship him. Truly this tale s much like the tales that the Grecians tell of Aristeas the Proconnesian, and of Cleomedes the Astypalæan. For they say, that Aristeas died n a fuller's work-house, and his friends coming o carry away his body, it fell out they could ot tell what became of it: and at that instant here were some which came out of the fields, nd affirmed they met and spake with him, and ow he kept his way towards the city of Crotona. It is said also that Cleomedes was nore than a man naturally strong and great, and herewithal mad, and furious hasty. For after nany desperate parts he had played, he came at he last on a day into a school-house full of ttle children, the roof whereof was borne with ne pillar, which he did hit with so terrible a low of his fist, that he broke it in the middest, o as the whole roof fell and dashed the poor hildren in pieces. The people ran straight after im to take him: but he threw himself forth-

Aristeas and Cleomedes suddenly snatched away

he soul eternal

with into a chest, and pulled the lid upon him. He held it so fast down, that many striving together all they could to open it, they were not able once to stir it. Whereupon they broke the chest all in pieces, but they found the man neither quick nor dead. Whereat they were marvellously amazed, and sent to Apollo Pythius, where the prophetess answered them in this verse:

Cleomedes the last of the demy gods.

The report goeth also that Alcmene's corse did vanish away, as they carried it to burial, and how instead thereof they found a stone laid in the bier. To conclude, men tell many other such wonders, that are far from any apparance of troth: only because they would make men to be as gods, and equal with them in power. It is true, that as to reprove and deny divine power, it were a lewd and wicked part: even so to compare earth and heaven together, it were a mere folly. Therefore we must let such fables go, being most certain that as Pindarus saith it is true:

Each living corpse must yield at last to death,
And every life must leese his vital breath:
The soul of man, that only lives on high,
And is an image of eternity.

For from heaven it came, and thither again it doth return, not with the body, but then soonest, when the soul is furthest off and separated from the body, and that she is kept

holy, and is no more defiled with the flesh. It is that the philosopher Heraclitus meant, when he said: The dry light, is the best soul which lieth out of the body, as lightning doth out of the cloud: but that which is joined with the body being full of corporeal passions, is a gross vapour, dark and massy, and cannot flame, arise or shoot out like lightning. We must not believe therefore, that the bodies of noble and vertuous men, do go up together with their souls into heaven, against the order of nature. But this we are certainly to believe, that by the vertues of their souls (according to divine nature and justice) they do of men become saints, and of saints half-gods, and of half-gods, entire and perfect gods: after that they are perfectly (as it were by sacrifices of purgation) made clean and pure, being delivered from all pain and mortality, and not by any civil ordinance, but in truth and reason, they receive a most happy and glorious end. Now touching Romulus' surname, which afterwards was called Quirinus: some say that it signifieth as much as warlike: other think he was so called because the Romans themselves were called Quirites. Other write, that men in old time did call the point of a spear, or the dart itself, *quiris*: by reason whereof the image of Juno surnamed Quiritis, was set up with an iron spear, and the spear which was consecrated in the king's palace, was called Mars. Furthermore it is an use amongst men, to honour them with a spear or dart, which have shewed themselves valiant in the wars: and that for this cause Romulus was surnamed Quirinus,

Why Romulus was called Quirinus

The war of the Latins

as who would say, god of the spears and wars. There was since built a temple unto him, in the hill called Quirinus, and so named of him. The day whereon he vanished, is called the flying of the people, or otherwise the Nones of the goats. For on that day, they go out of the city to do sacrifice in the place called the Fen, or the Goats' Marsh: and the Romans call a goat, *capra*. As they go thus together, they call with loud shouts and cries upon divers Romans' names, as Marcus, Gnæus, and Gaius, in token of the flying that was then: and that they called one another back again, as they ran away in great fear and disorder. Howbeit other say, that it is not done to shew the running away, but to shew their speed and diligence, and refer it to the story. Now after the Gauls that had taken Rome were expulsed by Camillus, the city was so weakned, that they could scant recover their force and strength again: wherefore many of the Latins joining together, went with a great mighty army, under the conduct of Livius Postumius, to war against the Romans. This Postumius brought his camp as near the city of Rome as he could, and sent to the Romans by a trumpet to let them understand, how the Latins were desirous by new marriages, to restore their old ancient amity and kindred that was near-hand decayed between them: and therefore if the Romans would send them a convenient number of their daughters and young widows to marry with them, they would have peace, as they had beforetime with the Sabines, upon the like occasion. The Romans hereat

were sore troubled, thinking that to deliver their women in such sort was no better, than to yield and submit themselves to their enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a waiting maid called Philotis (or as others call her, Tutola) gave them counsel to do neither the one nor the other, but to use a policy with them, by means whereof they should escape the danger of the wars, and should also not be tied nor bound by any pledges. The device was, they should send to the Latins herself, and a certain number of their fairest bond-maids, trimmed up like gentlewomen and the best citizens' daughters, and that in the night she would lift them up a burning torch in the air, at which sign they should come armed, and set upon their enemies as they lay asleep. This was brought to pass: and the Latins thought surely they had been the Romans' daughters. Philotis failed not in the night to lift up her sign, and to shew them a burning torch in the top of a wild fig-tree: and did hang certain coverlets and clothes behind it, that the enemies might not see the light, and the Romans contrariwise might discern it the better. Thereupon so soon as the Romans saw it, they ran with all speed, calling one another by their names, and issued out of the gates of the city with great haste: and so took their enemies upon a sudden, and slew them. In memory of which victory, they do yet solemnize the feast called the Nones of the goats, because of the wild fig-tree called in Latin *caprificus*. And they do feast the women without the city, under shadows made of the boughs of fig-trees.

The stratagem of Philotis

Romulus' age and reign

The waiting maids, they run up and down, and play here and there together. Afterwards they seem to fight, and throw stones one at another, as then they did when they holp the Romans in their fight. But few writers do avow this tale, because it is on the daytime that they call to each other by their names, and that they go to the place which they call the Goats' Marsh, as unto a sacrifice. It seemeth this agreeth better with the first history when they called one another by their names in the night, going against the Latins: unless peradventure these two things after many years happened upon one day.

Furthermore, they say Romulus was taken out of the world, when he was four and fifty years of age, and had reigned eight and thirty years by accompt.

THE COMPARISON OF THESEUS WITH ROMULUS

THUS have we declared all things of Theseus and Romulus worthy memory. But to compare the one with the other, it appeareth first that Theseus of his own voluntary will, without compulsion of any (when he might with safety have reigned in the city of Troezen, and succeeded his grandfather in no small kingdom) did desire of himself, and rather sought means to aspire to great things: and that Romulus on the other side, to deliver himself from bondage and servitude that lay sore upon him, and to escape the threatned punishment which still did hang over his head, was certainly compelled (as Plato saith) to shew himself hardy for fear: who seeing how extremely he was like to be handled, was of very force constrained to seek adventure, and hazard the enterprise of attaining high and great things. Moreover the chiefest act that ever he did was, when he slew one only tyrant of the city of Alba called Amulius: where Theseus in his journey only as he travelled, gave his mind to greater enterprises, and slew Sciron, Sinnis, Procrustes, and Corynetes. And by ridding them out of the world, he delivered

By what means men are prompted to great enterprises

Magnanimity and glory of Theseus

Greece of all those cruel tyrants, before any of those knew him, whom he had delivered from them. Furthermore, he might have gone to Athens by sea, and never needed to have travailed, or put himself in danger with these robbers, considering he never received hurt by any of them: whereas Romulus could not be in safety whilest Amulius lived. Hereupon it may be alleged, that Theseus unprovoked by any private wrong or hurt received, did set upon these detestable thieves and robbers: Remus and Romulus contrariwise, so long as the tyrant did them no harm, did suffer him to oppress and wrong all other. And if they allege these were noble deeds, and worthy memory: that Romulus was hurt fighting against the Sabines, and that he slew king Acron with his own hands, and that he had overcome and subdued many of his enemies: then for Theseus on the other side may be objected, the battell of the Centauri, the wars of the Amazons, the tribute due to the king of Creta: and how he ventured to go himself thither with the other young boys and wenches of Athens, as willingly offering himself to be devoured by a cruel beast, or else to be slain and sacrificed upon the tomb of Androgeos, or to become bondslave and tied in captivity to the vile service of cruel men and enemies, if by his courage and manhood he could not deliver himself. This was such an act of magnanimity, justice and glory, and briefly of so great vertue, that it is unpossible truly to be set out. Surely me thinks the philosophers did not ill define love, when they said she was a servitor of

the gods, to save young folks, whom they thought meet to be preserved. For, the love of Ariadne was in mine opinion the work of some god, and a mean purposely prepared for Theseus' safety. Therefore the woman is not to be reproached nor blamed for the love she bare Theseus, but rather it is much to be wondred at, that every man and woman in like wise did not love him. And if of her self she fell in love with him, I say (and not without cause) she afterwards deserved to be beloved of a god, as one that of her own nature loved valiantness and honour, and entertained men of singular value. But both Theseus and Romulus being naturally given to rule and reign, neither the one nor the other kept the true form of a king, but both of them did degenerate alike: the one changing himself into a popular man, the other to a very tyrant. So that by sundry humours, they both fell into one mischief and error. For a prince above all things must keep his estate: which is no less preserved by doing nothing uncomely, as by doing all things honourably. But he that is more severe or remiss than he should be, remaineth now no more a king or a prince, but becometh a people-pleaser, or a cruel tyrant: and so causeth his subjects to despise or hate him. Yet me thinks the one is an error of too much pity and baseness: and the other of too much pride and cruelty. But if we may not charge fortune with all mischances happening unto men, but that we ought to consider in them the diversities of manners and passions, seeing anger is unreason-

The office of a prince

Wherein Romulus was to be preferred before Theseus

able, and wrath rash and passionate: then can we not clear the one, nor excuse the other of extreme rage and passion, in the fact committed by the one against his brother, and by the other against his natural son. Howbeit the occasion and beginning of anger doth much excuse Theseus, who moved with the greatest cause that might be, was put into such choler and passion. But if Romulus' variance with his brother had proceeded of any matter of counsel, or cause of the common-weals: there is none so simple to think, that his wisdom would so suddenly have set upon him. Whereas Theseus in contrary manner killed his son, provoked by those passions that few men can avoid: to wit, love, jealousy, and false report of his wife. Moreover Romulus' anger went to the effect, whereof the issue fell out very lamentable: Theseus' anger stretched no further, than to rough words, and old folks' curses in their heat. For it seemeth, cursed fortune, and nought else, was the cause of his son's only mishap, as forespoken and wished for somewhat by his father. These be the special things may be alleged for Theseus. But for Romulus this was a notable thing in him. First his beginning being very low and mean, and his brother and he taken for bondmen, and the children of hog-herds, before they were themselves all free, they set at liberty in manner all the Latins, winning at one instant many titles of glory and honour: as destroyers of their enemies, defenders of their parents, kings of nations, founders of new cities, and no overthrowers of the old, whereas Theseus

of many habitations and houses made only one, and did overthrow and pluck down divers states, bearing the names of ancient kings, princes, and half gods of Attica. All these also did Romulus afterwards, and compelled his enemies whom he had overcome, to destroy their own houses, and to come and dwell with their conquerors. And in the beginning, he never changed nor increased any city that was built before, but built himself a new city out of the ground, getting all together, land, country, kingdom, kindred and marriages, without losing or killing any man: and to the contrary, rather he did good to many poor vacabonds, who had neither country, lands, nor houses, and desired nothing else but to make a people amongst them, and to become citizens of some city. Also Romulus bent not himself to follow thieves and robbers, but subdued by force of arms many mighty and puissant people: he took cities, and triumphed over kings and princes which he had vanquished in battell. And touching the murder of Remus, it is not certainly known of whose hands he died. The most part of authors do charge other with the death of him. But it is certain that Romulus delivered his mother from apparant death, and restored his grandfather to the royal throne of Æneas, who before was deposed and brought from a king to servile obedience, without any regard of honour or dignity: to whom he did many moe great pleasures and services. Besides he never offended him willingly, no not so much as ignorantly. Contrarily I think Theseus, who failing by negligence to put out his white sail at his

Romulus' love to his kin

Theseus detected for his ravishments of women

return, cannot be cleared of parricide, how elo-
quent an oration soever could be made for hi
excuse: yea though it were before the mos
favourable judges that could be. Wherefore a
Athenian very well perceiving that it was n
hard thing to excuse and defend so foul
fault, doth feign that the good old man Ægeu
having news brought him that his son's ship wa
at hand, did run in so great haste to his castle
to see his son arrive afar off, that as he ran, hi
foot hit against something, and overthrew him
as though he had none of his people about him
or that never a man seeing him run so hastily t
the sea side, did make haste to attend and wai
upon him. Furthermore, Theseus' faults touch-
ing women and ravishments, of the twain, ha
the less shadow and colour of honesty. Becaus
Theseus did attempt it very often: for he stol
away Ariadne, Antiope, and Anaxo the Troez-
enian. Again being stepped in years, and a
later age, and past marriage: he stole awa
Helen in her minority, being nothing near t
consent to marry. Then his taking of th
daughters of the Troezenians, of the Lacedæ-
monians, and the Amazons (neither contracte
to him, nor comparable to the birth and lineag
of his own country which were at Athens, an
descended of the noble race and progeny o
Erechtheus, and of Cecrops) did give men oc
casion to suspect that his womanishness wa
rather to satisfy lust, than of any great love
Romulus now in a contrary manner, when hi
people had taken eight hundred, or thereabout
of the Sabine women to ravish them: kept b

only one for himself that was called Hersilia, as they say, and delivered the rest to his best and most honest citizens. Afterwards by the honour, love, and good entertainment that he caused them to have and receive of their husbands, he changed this violent force of ravishment, into a most perfect bond and league of amity: which did so knit and join in one these two nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutual love which grew afterwards betwixt those two peoples, and consequently of the joining of their powers together. Furthermore, time hath given a good testimony of the love, reverence, constancy, kindness, and all matrimonial offices that he established by that means, betwixt man and wife. For in two hundred and thirty years afterwards, there was never man that durst forsake or put away his wife, nor the wife her husband. And as among the Grecians, the best learned men, and most curious observers of antiquities do know his name, that was the first murderer of his father or mother: even so all the Romans knew what he was, which first durst put away his wife. It was one called Spurius Carvilius, because his wife was barren and had no children. The effects also do agree with the testimony of the time. For the realm was common unto the kings of both nations, and through the alliance of these marriages that began first of ravishments, both nations lived peaceably, and in equality, under one civil policy, and well-governed common weal. The Athenians contrariwise, by Theseus' marriages, did get neither love nor kindred of any one person, but rather

Romulus' ravishment of women excused

Romulus more acceptable to the gods than Theseus

they procured wars, enmities, and the slaughter of their citizens, with the loss in the end of the city of Aphidnæ: and yet very hardly, and by the mercy of their enemies (whom they honoured as gods) they escaped for him, the danger which the Trojans suffered afterwards, for the self act done by Alexander Paris. So it fell out at the last, that his mother was not only in danger, but even feelingly suffered like misery and captivity, which Hecuba did afterwards, when she was forsaken of her son: unless peradventure those things that they write of the imprisonment and captivity of Æthra, be found false, and but fables, as for the fame and memory of Theseus were behoveful, that both it, and many other things also, were of no more troth nor likelihood. That which they write of Romulus' divinements, maketh great difference between him and Theseus. For Romulus in his birth was preserved by the marvellous favour of the gods: Theseus to the contrary, was begotten against the gods' will, as appeared plainly by the answer of the oracle to Ægeus, that he should not meddle with any woman in strange and forain country.

THE LIFE OF LYCURGUS

MAN cannot speak anything at all of Lycur- **Diverse opinions of the age of Lycurgus**
, who made the laws of the Lacedæmonians,
he shall find great contrarity of him amongst
historiographers. For, of his parentage and
el out of his country, of his death and
ting of laws, of his form of government,
order of executing the same, they have written
ersely. And yet above all things, concerning
, they agree worst about the time he lived
For some of them (and Aristotle is of that
ıber) will needs have him to have been in
time of Iphitus, and that he did help him
establish the ordinance that all wars should
se during the feast of the games Olympical:
a testimony whereof, they allege the copper
: which was used to be thrown in those
ıes, and had found graven upon it, the name
Lycurgus. Others compting the days and
e of the succession of the Kings of Lacedæ-
n (as Eratosthenes, and Apollodorus) say he
; many years before the first Olympiad.
næus also thinketh there were two of this
ıe, and in divers times: howbeit the one
ing more estimation than the other, men gave
Lycurgus the glory of both their doings.

Lycurgus' kindred

Some say the eldest of the twain, was not long after Homer: and some write they saw him. Xenophon sheweth us plainly he was of great antiquity: saying he was in the time of the Heraclides, who were nearest of blood by descent to Hercules. For it is likely Xenophon meant not those Heraclides, which descended from Hercules' self: for the last kings of Sparta were of Hercules' progeny, as well as the first. Therefore he meaneth those Heraclides, which doubtless were the first and nearest before Hercules' time. Nevertheless though the historiographers have written diversely of him, yet we will not leave to collect that which we find written of him in ancient histories, and is least to be denied, and by best testimonies most to be proved. And first of all, the poet Simonides saith, his father was called Prytanis and not Eunomus: and the most part do write the pedigree otherwise, as well of Lycurgus' self, as of Eunomus. For they say, that Patrocles the son of Aristodemus begat Sous, and Sous begat Eurytion, and Eurytion begat Prytanis, and Prytanis begat Eunomus, and Eunomus begat Polydectes of his first wife, and Lycurgus of the second wife, called Dianassa: yet Eutychidas another writer, maketh Lycurgus the sixt of descent in the right line from Polydectes, and the eleventh after Hercules. But of all his ancestors, the noblest was Sous, in whose time the city of Sparta subdued the Helots, made them slaves, and did enlarge and increase their dominion, with the lands and possessions they had got by conquest of the Arcadians.

And it is said that Sous himself being on a time straightly besieged by the Clitorians, in a hard dry ground, where no water could be found: offered them thereupon to restore all their lands again that he had gotten from them, if he and all his company did drink of a fountain that was there not far off. The Clitorians did grant unto it, and peace also was sworn between them. Then he called all his soldiers before him, and told them if there were any one amongst them that would refrain from drinking, he would resign his kingdom to him: howbeit there was not one in all his company that could (or would) forbear to drink, they were so sore athirst. So they all drank heartily except himself, who being the last that came down, did no more but a little moist his mouth without, and so refreshed himself, the enemies' selves standing by, and dronk not a drop. By reason whereof, he refused afterwards to restore their lands he had promised, alleging they had not all dronk. But that notwithstanding, he was greatly esteemed for his acts, and yet his house was not named after his own name: but after his son's name Eurytion, they of his house were called Eurytionides. The reason was, because his son Eurytion to please the people, did first let fall and give over, the sole and absolute power of a king. Whereupon there followed afterwards marvellous disorder and dissolution, which continued a great time in the city of Sparta. For the people finding themselves at liberty, became very bold and disobedient: and some of the kings that succeeded,

A subtle promise

The queen's proposal

were hated even to death, because they w
perforce use their ancient authority over
people. Other, either to win the love
goodwills of the people, or because they
they were not strong enough to rule them,
give themselves to dissemble. And this di
much increase the people's loose and rebel
minds, that Lycurgus' own father being
was slain among them. For one day, as
was parting a fray between two that
fighting, he had such a wound with a kit
knife, that he died: and left his realm to
eldest son Polydectes, who died also soon a
and without heir of his body as was suppo
In so much as every man thought Lycurgus sh
be king: and so he took it upon him, unt
was understood that his brother's wife was y
with child. Which thing so soon as he
ceived, he published openly, that the r
belonged to the child that should be born,
were a son. After this he governed the re
but as the king's lieutenant and regent.
Lacedæmonians call the regents of their
that are left within age, Prodicos. Lycu
brother's widow did send, and let him sec
understand, that if he would promise to m
her when he should be king, that she w
come before her time, and either miscarry
destroy that she went with. Lycurgus detes
abhorring this brutish and savage unnaturalne
the woman, did not reject her offer made
but seemed rather to be very glad, thar
dislike of it. Nevertheless he sent her
again, she should not need to try masteries,

drinks and medicines to make her come before her time: for in so doing, she might bring herself in danger, and be cast away for ever. Howbeit he advised her to go her full time, and to be brought a-bed in good order, and then he would find means enough to make away the child that should be born. And so with such persuasions he drew on this woman to her full time of delivery. But so soon as he perceived she was near her time, he sent certain to keep her, and to be present at her labour, commanding them that if she were brought a-bed of a daughter they should leave her with the woman: and if it were a son they should forthwith bring it to him, in what place soever he was, and what business soever he had in hand. It chanced that she came even about supper-time, and was delivered of a son. As he was sitting at the table with the other magistrates of the city, his servants entred the hall, and presented to him the little babe, which he tenderly took in his arms, and said openly to them that were present: Behold my lords of Sparta, here is a king born unto us. And speaking these words, he layed him down in the king's place, and named him Charilaus, as much to say as the joy of the people. Thus he saw all the lookers-on rejoicing much, and might hear them praise and extol his sincerity, justice, and vertue. By this means he reigned only as king, but eight moneths; from thenceforth he was taken and esteemed so just and sincere a man among the citizens, that there were moe that willingly obeyed him for his vertue, than for that he was

Justice and sincerity of Lycurgus

Lycurgus sets forth on his travels

the king's regent, or that he had the governmer of the whole realm in his hands. Notwithstand ing there were some that bare him displeasur and malice, who sought to hinder and disgrac his credit, and chiefly the friends and kindred c the king's mother: whose power and honou were thought much impaired by Lycurgus authority: in so much, as a brother of her called Leonidas, entering boldly into great word with him on a day, did not stick to say to hi face: I know for a certainty one of these day thou wilt be king: meaning thereby to brin him in suspicion with the citizens. Which thin though Lycurgus never meant, yet of a subtil and crafty wit, Leonidas thought by giving ou such words, that if the young king happened t die in his minority naturally, it would be mis trusted that Lycurgus had secretly made hir away. The king's mother also gave out suc like speeches, which in the end did so troubl him, with the fear he had, what event migl fall out thereof: that he determined to depa his country, and by his absence to avoid th suspicion that therein might grow upon him an way. So he travelled abroad in the world as stranger, until his nephew had begotten a so who was to succeed him in his kingdom. H having with this determination taken his journe went first of all into Creta, where he diligentl observed and considered the manner of the living, the order of the government of the common-weal, and ever kept company with th best, and ever was conferring with the mo learned. There he found very good laws in h

nt, which he noted of purpose to carry his country, to serve when time should He found there other laws also, but of e made no reckoning. Now there was n that above the rest was reputed wise lful in matters of state and government, as called Thales: with whom Lycurgus much by entreaty, and for familiar friend- it he persuaded him to go with him unto This Thales was called the poet whereupon he had that title and name: effect he sang all that the best and test governors of the world could devise. his songs were goodly ditties, wherein exhort and persuade the people to live obedience of the law, in peace and con- ie with the other. His words were set h such tunes, countenance and accents, ere so full of sweetness, harmony, and : that inwardly it melted men's hearts, w the hearers of a love to like the most things, and to leave all hatred, enmity, and division, which at that time reigned ong them. So as it may be said, he it at prepared the way for Lycurgus, he afterwards reformed and brought the monians unto reason. At his departing Creta, he went into Asia, with intent (as id) to compare the manner of life and of those of Creta (being then very and severe) with the superfluities and of Ionia: and thereupon to consider the e between their two manners and ents, as the physician doth, who to

Thales the poet statesman

Travels of Lycurgus

know the whole and healthful the better, doth use to compare them with the sick and diseased. It is very likely it was there, where he first saw Homer's works, in the hands of the heirs and successors of Creophylus: and finding in the same, as well many rules of policy, as the great pleasure of poets' feigning, he diligently copied it out, and made a volume thereof to carry into Greece. It is true there was much fame abroad of Homer's poesies among the Grecians, howbeit there were few of them brought together, but were scattered here and there in divers men's hands, in pamphlets and pieces unsewed and without any order: but the first that brought them most to light among men, was Lycurgus. The Egyptians say, that he was in their country also, and that having found there one notable ordinance among others, that their soldiers and men of war were separated from the rest of the people, he brought the practice of it into Sparta: where setting the marchants, artificers, and labourers, every one apart by themselves, he did establish a noble common wealth. So the Egyptian historiographers, and some others also of Greece do write. He was also in Africke, and in Spain, and as far as India, to confer with the wise men there, that were called the philosophers of India. I know no man that hath written it, saving Aristocrates, that was Hipparchus' son. The Lacedæmonians wished for him often when he was gone, and sent divers and many a time to call him home: who though their kings had but the honour at title of kings, and not the vertue or majesty

prince, whereby they did excel the common people. But as for Lycurgus, they thought of him thus: that he was a man born to rule, to command, and to give order, as having in him certain natural grace and power, to draw men willingly to obey him. Moreover, the kings themselves were not unwilling to have him to return home, because they hoped that his presence would somewhat bridle, and restrain the people from their insolency and disobedience towards them. Whereupon Lycurgus returning home in this opinion and affection of men, it fell out that he was no sooner arrived, but he began to devise how to alter the whole government of the common-weal, and throughout to change the whole course and order of the state: thinking that to make only certain particular laws were to no purpose, but much like, as one should give some easy medicine, to purge an overthrown body with all humours and diseases. Therefore he thought first that all gross and superfluous humours, were meet to be dissolved and purged, and then afterwards to give them a new form and order of government. When he had thus determined with himself, before he would take in hand to do anything, he went to the city of Delphes: where after he had sacrificed to Apollo, he consulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with this glorious title by the oracle of Pythia: O beloved of the gods, and rather god than man. Where when he craved grace of Apollo to establish good laws in his country, it was answered him: that Apollo granted his petition, and that he should ordain the best and

Lycurgus consulteth with the oracle of Apollo

Weakness of King Charilaus

perfectest manner of a common-wealth, that ever had or should be in the world. This answer did comfort him very much, and so he began to break his purpose to certain of the chief of the city, and secretly to pray and exhort them to help him, going first to those he knew to be his friends, and after by little and little he wan others to him, who joined with him in his enterprise. So when he saw the time fit for the matter, he caused thirty of the chiefest men of the city in a morning to come into the market-place well appointed and furnished, to suppress those that would attempt to hinder their purpose. Hermippus the historiographer rehearseth twenty of the chiefest: but he that above all others did most assist him in his doings, and was the greatest aid unto the establishing of his laws, was called Arthmiadas. The King Charilaus hearing of this assembly, did fear there had been some conspiracy or insurrection against his person, and for his safety he fled into the temple of Juno, called Chalciœcos, as much to say, as Juno's brazen temple. Howbeit afterwards when he knew the truth, he waxed bold and came out of the temple again, and he himself favoured the enterprise, being a prince of a noble mind, howbeit very soft by nature, as witnesseth Archelaus (that was the other King of Lacedæmon) by telling how Charilaus answered one that praised him to his face, in saying he was a good man. And how should I not (quoth he) be good, when I cannot be evil to the evil? In this change of the State, many things were altered by Lycurgus, but his chiefest alteration was, hir

law of the erection of a Senate, which he made to have a regal power and equal authority with the kings in matters of weight and importance, and was (as Plato saith) to be the heathful counterpoise of the whole body of the common weal. The other state before was ever wavering, sometime inclining to tyranny, when the kings were too mighty: and sometime to confusion, when the people would usurp authority. Lycurgus therefore placed between the kings and the people, a counsel of Senators, which was as a strong beam, that held both these extremes in an even balance, and gave sure footing and ground to either part, to make strong the state of the common weal. For the eight and twenty Senators (which made the whole body of the Senate) took sometime the king's part, when it was needful to pull down the fury of the people: and contrarily, they held sometimes with the people against the kings, to bridle their tyrannical government. Aristotle saith, he ordained the number of Senators to be but eight and twenty, because two of thirty that joined with him as afore, did for fear forsake him at his enterprise. Howbeit Sphærus writeth, that from the beginning, he never purposed to have more than eight and twenty to be the Senate. And perhaps he had great regard to make it a perfect number, considering it is compounded of the number of seven, multiplied by four: and is the first perfect number next to six, being equal to all parts gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he chose this number rather than any other, because he meant the whole body of the

The Spartan Senate

The open fields appointed for place of council

council should be but thirty persons, adding to that number, the two kings. Lycurgus took so great care to establish well this council, that he brought an oracle for it, from Apollo's temple in Delphes. This oracle is called unto this day *rhetra*, as who would say, the statute oracle: whereof the answer was: When thou hast built a temple unto Jupiter the Syllanian, and to Minerva the Syllanian, and divided the people into lineages, thou shalt establish a Senate of thirty counsellers, with the two kings: and shalt assemble the people at times convenient, in the place between the bridge and the river Cnacion. There the Senators shall propound all matters, and break up after their assemblies: and it shall not be lawful for the people to speak one word. In those days the people were ever assembled between two rivers, for there was no hall to assemble a council at large, nor any other place prepared for them. For Lycurgus thought no builded place meet for men to give good counsel in, or to determine causes, but rather a hinderance: because in such places men be drawn to muse on vain things, and their minds be carried away with beholding the images, tables, and pictures, commonly set up for ornament in such open places. And if it be in a theatre, then beholding the place where the plays and sports be made, they think more of them, than of any counsel. Again, if it be in a great hall, then of the fair embowed or vawted roofs, or of the fretised ceilings curiously wrought, and sumptuously set forth, and tend not still their business they come for. When the people were assembled in council, it was not

lawful for any of them to put forth matters to the council to be determined, neither might any of them deliver his opinion what he thought of anything: but the people had only authority to give their assent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senators, or the two kings. Howbeit afterwards, the two kings Polydorus and Theopompus, because the people did many times cross and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding something to it, they did add these words to the oracle aforesaid: That if the people would not assent to any ordinance of the Senate, then should it be lawful for the kings and Senate to break up the council, and to frustrate all things done in the same: the wise advice of the Senate being encountered thus, and their meaning to the best, so perverted to the worse. These two kings persuaded the people, that at the very first, this addition came with the oracle of Apollo: as the poet Tyrtæus maketh mention in the place, where he sayeth: A fictitious oracle

From Delphos Isle, this oracle is brought
Of Pythia into their country soil.
The kings (even they to whom of right there ought
A loving care in princely breasts to boil,
The Spartan wealth to guard from every spoil:)
Shall be the chief, grave causes to decide
With Senators: whose sound advice is tried.
And next to them, the people shall fulfil
As much as seems to please their princes' will.

Lycurgus now having thus tempered the form of his common-weal, it seemed notwithstanding to those that came after him, that this small

The institution of the Ephors

number of thirty persons that made the Senate, was yet too mighty, and of too great authority. Wherefore to bridle them in a little, they gave them (as Plato saith) a bit in their mouths, and that was the authority of the Ephors, which signify as much as controllers: and were erected about a hundred and thirty years after the death of Lycurgus. The first which was chosen of these, was Elatus, and it was in the time of King Theopompus, whose wife on a day in her anger said: how through his negligence he would leave less to his successors, than he had received of his predecessors. To whom he answered again, not less but more, for that it shall continue longer, and with a more surety. For, in losing thus their too absolute power, that wrought them great envy and hatred among their citizens, they did escape the danger and mischief that their neighbours the Argives, and Messenians did feel: who would not give over the sovereign authority which they had gotten once. This example maketh Lycurgus' great wisdom and foresight manifestly known: who so will deeply consider the seditions and ill governments of the Argives and Messenians (their near neighbours and kinsmen) as well from the people, as from the kings. Who from the beginning had all things alike to the Spartans: and in dividing of their lands a far better order than theirs. This notwithstanding, they did not prosper long: but through the pride of their kings, and the disobedience of their people, they entered into civil wars one against another, shewing by their disorders and misfortunes the special

grace the gods did bear to Sparta, to give them such a reformer, as did so wisely temper the state of their commonweal, as we will shew hereafter. The second law that Lycurgus made, and the boldest and hardest he ever took in hand, was the making of a new division of their lands. For he saw so great a disorder and unequality among the inhabitants, as well of the country, as of the city Lacedæmon, by reason some (and the greatest number of them) were so poor, that they had not a handful of ground, and other some being least in number were very rich, that had all: he thought with himself to banish out of the city all insolency, envy, covetousness, and deliciousness, and also all riches and poverty, which he took the greatest, and the most continual plagues of a city, or common-weal. For this purpose, he imagined there was none so ready and necessary a mean, as to persuade his citizens to suffer all the lands, possessions, and inheritance of their country, to run in common together: and that they should make a new devision equally in partition amongst themselves, to live from thenceforth as it were like brothers together, so that no one were richer than another, and none should seek to go before each other, any other way than in vertue only: thinking there should be no difference or unequality among inhabitants of one city, but the reproaches of dishonesty, and the praises of vertue. Thus Lycurgus following his determination, did out of hand make a law of the division of their lands. For first he did divide all the country of Laconia, o thirty thousand equal parts, the which he

Lycurgus maketh equal division of lands unto the citizens

Laconia the inheritance of many brethren

did set out for those that inhabited about Sparta: and of those lands that joined next to the city of Sparta, that was the chief metropolitan city of Laconia, he made other nine thousand parts, which he divided to the natural citizens of Sparta, who be those that are properly called Spartans. Howbeit some will say, he made but six thousand parts, and that king Polydorus afterwards did add too other three thousand parts. Other say also that Lycurgus of these nine thousand parts made but the half only, and Polydorus the rest. Every one of these parts was such, as might yield unto the owner yearly, three score and ten bushels of barley for a man, and twelve bushels for the woman, and of wine and other liquid fruits, much like in proportion: which quantity Lycurgus judged to be sufficient, to keep the body of a man in health, and to make him strong and lusty, without any further allowance. They say after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields, and came over the lands where wheat had been reaped not long before, and saw the number of sheaves lying in every shock together, and no one shock bigger than another: he fell a laughing, and told them that were with him, me thinks all Laconia is as it were an inheritance of many brethren, who had newly made partition together. He gave an attempt to have divided also movables, and to have made a common partition between them, to the end he would have utterly taken away all unequality. But finding the citizens took it very impatiently, that openly that which they had, should be taken away; he went about to do it

more secretly, and in a more cunning wise to take away that covetousness. For first of all he did forbid all coin of gold and silver to be current; and then he did set out certain coins of iron which he commanded only to be current, whereof a great weight and quantity was but little worth. So as to lay up thereof the value of ten minas, it would have occupied a whole cellar in a house, besides it would have needed a yoke of oxen to carry it anywhere. Now gold and silver being thus banished out of the country, many lewd parts and faults must needs cease thereby. For who would rob, steal, pick, take away, hide, procure, or hoard up anything, that he had no great occasion to desire, nor any profit to possess, nor would be any pleasure to use or employ? For, the iron they occupied for their coin, they cast vinegar upon it while it was red hot out of the fire, to kill the strength and working of it to any other use: for thereby it was so eger and brittle, that it would bide no hammer, nor could be made, beaten, or forged to any other fashion. By this means he banished also, superfluous and unprofitable sciences, which he knew he should not need to do by any proclamation: because they would fall away (or the most part of them) even of themselves, when the baseness of the money they should take for their work should undo them. For their iron moneys were not current elsewhere in the cities of Greece, but everybody made a jest of it there. By this occasion, the Lacedæmonians could buy no foreign wares nor marchandises, neither came there any ship into their haven to traffick with

Lycurgus changeth all gold and silver into iron coin

The iron coinage purges the state

them, neither any fine curious rhetorician did repair into their country to teach them eloquence, and the cunning cast of lying: nor yet came there to them any wisard to tell them their fortune, nor any pander to keep any brothel house, nor yet goldsmith or jeweller, to make or sell any toys or trifles of gold or silver to set forth women: considering all these things are used to be made to get money, and to hoard up that they had not. After this sort, delicateness that wanted many things that entertained it, began by little and little to vanish away, and lastly to fall off from themselves: when the most rich men had no more occasion than the poorest, and riches having no means to shew her self openly in the world, was fain to remain shut at home idly, as not able to do her master any service. Thereupon movables and household stuff (which a man cannot be without, and must be daily occupied) as bedsteads, tables, chairs, and such like necessaries for house, were excellently well made: and men did greatly praise the fashion of the Laconian cup which they called *cothon* and specially for a soldier in the wars, as Critias was wont to say. For it was made after such a fashion, that the colour of it did let the eye to discern the foul and unwholesome water, which men are driven ofttimes to drink in a camp, and goeth many times against one's stomach to see it: and if by chance there was any filth or mud in the bottom, it would cleave and stick fast upon the ribs of the belly, and nothing came through the neck, but clean water to his mouth that drank it. The reformer of their state was the

ause of all this: because their artificers tending ow to superfluous works, were occupied about ie making of their most necessary things. urther, now to drive away all superfluity and eliciousness, and to root out utterly desire to et and gather: he made another third law for ating and drinking, and against feasts and ankets. First he willed and commanded the itizens, that they should eat together all of one eat, and chiefly of those he had permitted by is ordinance. Then he did expressly forbid em to eat alone, or apart, or secretly by them-lves, upon rich tables and sumptuous beds, busing the labour of excellent workmen, and ie devices of lickerish cooks to cram themselves corners, as they do fat up beasts and poultry, hich doth not only breed ill conditions in the ind, but doth mar the complexions of men, nd the good states of their body, when they ive themselves over to such sensuality and luttony. Whereof it followeth in the end that en must needs sleep much, to help to digest ie excess of meats they have taken, and then ust they go to the hot houses to bathe them-lves, and spend long time about the ordinary ttendance of their sickly bodies. This was a arvellous thing for him to bring to pass, but uch more, to make riches not to be stolen, nd least of all to be coveted, as Theophrastus aid of him: which by this means of making them at together with all sobriety at their ordinary iet, was brought to pass. For there was no ore mean to the rich, than to the poor, to use play, or shew riches, since both of them were

Lycurgus appointeth order for diet

Lycurgus attacked by his enemies

forced to be together in one place, and to eat all of one meat: so as that which is commonly spoken, that Pluto the god of riches is blind, was truly verified only in the city of Sparta, above all other places of the world. For their riches was laid on the ground like a corse without a soul, that moveth no whit at all: considering it was not lawful for any man to eat at home secretly in his house, before he came to their open halls, nor might not come thither for a countenance only to his meals, being already fed and full fraught. For every man's eye was upon those specially which did not eat and drink with a good stomach amongst them: and it was the use to reproach them as gluttons, and dainty-mouthed men, which refused to eat as it were in common together. So as this was the ordinance they say, that grieved most the rich above all that Lycurgus made, and whereat they were most mad and angry with him: in so much, as on a day, they all setting upon him to alter it, he was compelled to run out of the market-place, and getting ground of them, he recovered the liberties of a church, before any could overtake him: saving one young man called Alcander, who otherwise had no ill-nature in him, but that he was somewhat quick of his hand, and cholerick withal. Who following Lycurgus nearer than any other, did give him a blow overthwart the face with a staff, and strake out one of his eyes, as Lycurgus turned toward him. Yet for all this, Lycurgus never bashed or made word at the matter, but did lift up his head to those that followed him, and

hewed them his face all a gore-blood, and his ye put out clean: whereof they were all so ore ashamed, that there was not a man that urst once open his mouth against him, but to he contrary, they seemed to pity him, and did eliver Alcander into his hands that had done he deed, to punish him as himself pleased. And so they all brought him to his house, and hewed they were right heartily sorry for his urt. Lycurgus thanking them, returned them ll back again, save that he made Alcander to o with him into his house, where he never hurt im, nor gave him foul word: but commanded im only to wait upon him, and made his other rdinary servants to withdraw their waiting. his young man who now began to spy his own ults, did most willingly attend upon him, and ever spake word to the contrary. When he ad served him a certain time, being very near ntinually about him, he began to feel and taste f his natural liberality, and saw of what affec- on and intention Lycurgus was moved to do all e did: he perceived what was the severity of is ordinary life, and what his constancy was to ndure labour without weariness. Alcander then egan to love and honour Lycurgus from his eart, and told his parents and friends, how he as no such severe man as he seemed, but was f so kind and gentle a nature to all men as ight be. See I pray you how Alcander was ansformed by Lycurgus, and his punishment lso, which he should have received: for of a erce, rash, and a lewd conditioned youth he as before, he became now a very grave and

Lycurgus' patience and gentleness

The common meal

wise man. But for memory of this his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to Minerva, which he surnamed Optiletis, because the Dorians which dwell in those parts of Peloponnesus, do call the eyes, optiles. There are other writers (as Dioscorides for one) which say Lycurgus had a blow with a staff, but he had not his eye stricken out with it: and how contrariwise, he founded this temple to Minerva, to give her thanks for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that ever since the Spartans have been restrained to carry staves in any assembly of counsel. But to return to their common repasts, which the Cretans called Andria, and the Lacedæmonians Phiditia, either because they were places wherein they learned to live soberly and straightly (for in the Greek tongue *phido*, is to save and spare) or else because their amity and friendship grew there towards one another, as if they would have called them Philitia, feasts of love, by changing *d* into *l*: it may be also they added the first letter as superfluous, and meant to call the places Editia, because they did eat and drink there. They sat in their halls by fifteen in a company, little more or less, and at the beginning of every moneth, every one brought a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, and two pounds and a half of figs for a man, besides some little portion of their money to buy certain fresh cates. And over and above all this, every man when he did sacrifice in his house, was bound to send the best and chiefest things of his sacrifice to the halls to be eaten. Likewise

any man went on hunting, and killed any venison: it was an order, he should send a piece of the flesh thither. Having these two awful causes, they might eat and drink by themselves at home, either when they sacrificed any beast to the gods, or when they came late home from hunting: otherwise they were bound of necessity to meet in their halls at meals, if they would eat anything. This order they kept very straightly a great time: insomuch as King Agis on a day, returning from the wars, where he had overthrown the Athenians, and being desirous to sup at home privately with the queen his wife, he sent to the halls for his portion. But the Polemarchi, that be certain officers assisting the kings in the wars, did deny him. The next day Agis left off for spite, to do the accustomed sacrifice they were wont to celebrate in the end of every war: whereupon they set a fine on his head, and condemned him to pay it. The young children also went to these repasts, even as they should go to schools to learn gravity and temperance, where they heard wise and grave discourses touching the government of a common weal, but not of masters that were as hirelings. There they learned prettily to play upon words, and pleasantly to sport one with another, without any broad speeches, or uncomely jests, and at others' hands to bear the same again, without choler or anger. For this property have the Lacedæmonians above all other, to take and give a mock without any offence: nevertheless, if any man's nature could not bear it, he needed but pray the party to forbear his

Lacedæmonians can take and give a mock

The order of receiving any man into their company at meals

jesting, and so he left it straight. And it was ever an ordinary among them, that the eldest of the company told the rest that were come into the hall to meals, with shewing them of the door: Sirs, remember, there goeth not a word here out of this door. Even so he that would be received to meals there in their company, must first of necessity be allowed and received in this sort, by all the rest. Every one of them took a little ball of bran or dough to wash their hands with, and without ever a word speaking, they threw it into a basin, which the servant that waited on them at the table did carry upon his head: he that was contented the other should be received in company, did cast in his ball as he did receive it, but if he misliked him, then he pressed it flat between his fingers, and threw it in. This ball of bran thus pressed flat, was as much as a bean bored through, and was to them a sign of condemnation. If any one ball were found of this sort, the suitor was rejected: for they would not have any enter into their company, that was not liked of all the rest. He that thus was rejected, they say he was discadded: for the basin wherein the little balls were carried, was called Caddos. The best dish they served at these meals, was that they call their black broth: so that when they had that, the old men did eat no flesh, but left it all to the young men, and they by themselves did eat the broth. There was a king of Pontus, that being desirous to taste of this black broth, did buy of purpose a Lacedæmonian cook: but after he had once tasted thereof, he was very angry

straight. The cook then said unto him: and it please your grace, ere one shall find this broth good, he must be washed first in the river of Eurotas. After they had eat and drunk thus soberly together, every one repaired home without any light: for it was not lawful for them to go thither, nor anywhere else with light, because they should accustom themselves boldly to go up and down the dark, and all about in the night. This was the order and manner of their meals. But here is specially to be noted, that Lycurgus would in no wise have any of his laws put in writing. For it is expressly set down in his laws they call Rhetra, that none of his laws should be written. For he thought that which should chiefly make a city happy, and vertuous, ought throughly by education to be printed in men's hearts and manners, as to have continuance for ever: which he took to be love and good will, as a far stronger knot to tie men with, than any other compulsory law. Which when men by use and custom through good education do take in their childhood, it maketh every man to be a law to himself. Furthermore, concerning buying and bargaining one with another, which are but trifles, and sometime are changed into one sort, and sometime in another, as occasion serveth: he thought it best not to constrain them to do it by writing, nor to establish customs that might not be altered, but rather to leave them to the liberty and discretion of men which had been brought up in the same, both to take away, and to add therein, as the case and time should require. But to conclude, he

His laws to be written in men's minds

Laws against luxury

thought the chiefest point of a good law-maker or reformer of the common weal was, to cause men to be well brought up and instructed. One of his ordinances therefore was expressly, that not one of his laws should be written. Another of his devices was, against superfluous charges and expenses: which to avoid, he made a law that all roofs of houses should be made only with the axe, and all gates and doors with the saw, and that without any other tool of occupation. Wherein he had the like imagination as afterwards Epaminondas had, when he said, speaking of his table: Such a board never receiveth any treason. Even so thought Lycurgus, that such a built house would never receive curiosity or daintiness. For no man is so madly disposed or simple-witted, as to bring into so poor and mean houses, bedsteads with silver feet, imbrodered coverlets, or counterpoints of purple silk, neither yet plate of gold nor of silver, nor such other like costly furniture and fineness, as those things require to wait upon them: because the beds must be answerable to the meanness of the house, the furniture of the beds must be suitlike to the same, and all other household stuff, diet, meat, and drink agreeable to the rest. Hereof proceeded that, which Leontychidas the first king of that name, said once: who supping on a time in the city of Corinth, and seeing the roof of the hall where he sat, sumptuously embowed and carved, he asked straight if the trees did grow carved so in that country. The third law was, he did forbid them to make war often with one enemy, lest the

enemy forced to take often arms in hand, might in the end grow experter and valianter than they. For this cause King Agesilaus was greatly blamed, who was a long time after. For by making often wars with the country of Bœotia, he made the Thebans in the end as expert and valiant soldiers, as the Lacedæmonians. Whereupon Antalcidas seeing him hurt one day, said unto him: The Thebans have nobly rewarded thee for their learning, since thou hast made them expert soldiers unwilling to learn the discipline of war. These be the laws Lycurgus himself called Rhetra, and signify as much as Oracles, that the god Apollo had discovered to him. Now the education of children, he esteemed the chiefest and greatest matter, that a reformer of laws should establish. Therefore beginning afar off, he first considered the state of marriage, and the generation of children. For Aristotle saith, that Lycurgus did attempt to reform women, and did soon give it over again: because he could do no good therein, by reason of the great liberty they had taken by the absence of their husbands in the wars, compelled often so to be abroad, and that they did leave them mistresses of their house, and at their return did honour them so much, and make of them so beyond measure, with calling them ladies and mistresses. Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, as well as he had of men's: and so reason did require. First of all, he willed that the maidens should harden their bodies with exercise of running, wrestling,

The discipline of women

The exercises and discipline of maids

throwing the bar, and casting the dart, to the end that the fruit wherewith they might be afterwards conceived, taking nourishment of a strong and lusty body, should shoot out and spread the better: and that they by gathering strength thus by exercises, should more easily away with the pains of child-bearing. And to take away from them their womanish daintiness, and fineness, he brought up a custom, for young maids and boys to go as it were a procession, and to dance naked at solemn feasts and sacrifices, and to sing certain songs of their own making, in the presence and sight of young men. To whom by the way they gave many times pretty mocks of purpose, as pleasantly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their duties: and sometimes also in their song for their vertues, wits, or manners, they praised them which had deserved it. By this means, they did set young men's hearts afire, to strive to win most praise and honour. For who so was praised of them for a valiant man, or whose worthy acts were sung by them, he thereby was encouraged to do the better another time: and the pretty girdes and quips they gave to others, was of no less force, than the sharpest words and admonitions that otherwise could be given them. This took place the rather, because it was done in the presence of the kings, the Senators, and all the rest of the citizens which came thither to see these sports. And though the maids did show themselves thus naked openly, yet was there no dishonesty seen nor offered, but all this sport was full of play and

joys, without any youthful part or wantonness: and rather carried a show of demureness, and a desire to have their best made bodies seen and spied. Moreover, it somewhat lifted up their hearts, and made them noblier minded, by giving them to understand, that it was no less comely for them, in their kind and exercises to carry the bell, then it was for men in their games and exercises to carry the prize. Hereof it came, that the women of Lacedæmon were so bold to say, and think of themselves that, which Gorgo the wife of King Leonidas one day answered: being in talk with a strange woman that said to her: There be no women in the world that command their husbands, but you wives of Lacedæmon. Whereto the Queen straightly replied: so be there no women but we, which bring forth men. Futhermore, these plays, sports, and dances, the maids did naked before young men, were provocations to draw and allure the young men to marry: not as persuaded by geometrical reasons, as saith Plato, but brought to it by liking, and of very love. Those which would not marry, he made infamous by law. For it was not lawful for such to be present, where these open games and pastimes were shewed naked. Furthermore, the officers of the city compelled such as would not marry, even in the hardest time of the winter, to environ the place of these sports, and to go up and down stark naked, and to sing a certain song made for the purpose against them, which was: that justly were they punished, because that law they disobeyed. Moreover, when such

The saying of a Lacedemonian woman

Matrimonial ceremonies in Lacedæmon

were old, they had not the honour and reverence done them, which old married men usually received. Therefore there was no man that misliked, or reproved that, which was spoken to Dercyllidas: albeit otherwise he was a noble captain. For, coming into a presence, there was a young man which would not vouchsafe to rise and do him reverence, nor to give him place for to sit down: and worthily, quoth he, because thou hast not gotten a son, who may do so much for me in time to come. Those which were desirous to marry any, were driven to take them away by force, whom they would marry, not little young wenches I mean, which were not of age to be married: but lusty and strong maids of age to bear children. And when one of them was stolen away in this sort, she that was privy thereto, and mean to make the marriage, came and shaved the hairs of her head that was married: then she put her into man's apparel, and gave her all things suitable like to the same, and laid her upon a mattress all alone, without light or candle. After this was done, the bridegroom, being neither drunk nor finelier apparelled than he was wont to be, but having supped soberly at his ordinary, came home secretly to the house where the bride was: and there untying his wife's girdle, took her in his arms, laid her upon a bed, and talked together a while, and afterwards fair and softly stole away to the place, where he was wont to sleep with other young men. And so from thenceforth, he continued always to do the like, being all the day time with his companions, and

ing most of the night, unless he sometimes to see his wife, being afraid, and ashamed to be seen, by any of the house where she And hereunto his young wife did help for part, to spy means and occasions how they t meet together, and not be seen. This er endured a great while and until some of had children, before they boldly met her, and saw each other on the daytime. secret meeting in this sort did serve to purposes, not only because it was some s of continency, and shamefastness, but also pt their bodies in strength and better state, ring forth children. It continued also in parties, a still burning love, and a new e of the one to the other, not as it were warm, nor weary, as theirs commonly be h have their bellies full of love, and as as they lust: but they ever parted with ppetite one from another, keeping still a ng desire to devise how to meet again. when he had stablished such a continency, so kind a framed honesty in marriage, he no less care to drive away all foolish isy therein, thinking it very good reason to re there should be no violence, nor con- n in marriage: and yet as reason would, should suffer those which were worthy to hildren as it were in common, laughing at mad folly of them which revenge such s with war and bloodshed, as though in case men in no wise should have no fellow- together. Therefore a man was not to be d, being stepped in years, and having a

Whole-some rules for married couples

No jealousy

young wife, if seeing a fair young man tha liked him, and known withal to be of a gentle nature, he brought him home to get his wife with child, and afterwards would avow it for his, as if himself had gotten it. It was lawful also for an honest man that loved another man's wife, for that he saw her wise, shamefast, and bringing forth goodly children, to intreat her husband to suffer him to lie with her, and that he might also plough in that lusty ground, and cast abroad the seed of well-favoured children: which by this means came to be common in blood and parentage, with the most honourable and honestest persons. For first of all, Lycurgus did not like that children should be private to any man, but that they should be common to the common weal: by which reason he would also, that such as should become citizens, should not be begotten of every man, but of the most honestest men only. So Lycurgus thought also there were many foolish vain joys and fancies, in the laws and orders of other nations, touching marriage: seeing they caused their bitches and mares to be lined and covered with the fairest dogs and goodliest stalons that might be gotten, praying or paying the maisters and owners of the same: and kept their wives notwithstanding shut up safe under lock and key, for fear lest other than themselves might get them with child, although they were sickly, feeble brained, and extreme old. As if it were not first of all, and chiefly a discommodity to the fathers and mothers, and likewise to those that bring them up, to have imperfect and feeble children

born, as it were begotten of dry and withered men: and then to the contrary, what pleasure and benefit is it to those that have fair and good children, born, as gotten of like seed and men. These things were done then by natural and civil reason; nevertheless they say women were so far off then from entreaty, as ever they were before: so as in old time, in Sparta, men knew not what adultery meant. For proof whereof, the answer made by Geradas (one of the first ancient Spartans) unto a stranger, may be alleged: that asked him, what punishment they had for adulterers. My friend, quoth he, there be none here. But if there were? replied the stranger again. Marry said he, then he must pay as great a bull, as standing upon the top of the mountain Taÿgetus, may drink in the river of Eurotas. Yea marry: but how is it possible (quoth the stranger) to find such a bull? Geradas laughing, answered him again. And how were it possible also to find an adulterer in Sparta? And this is that which is found of Lycurgus' laws touching marriages. Furthermore, after the birth of every boy, the father was no more maister of him, to cocker and bring him up after his will: but he himself carried him to a certain place called Lesché, where the eldest men of his kindred being set, did view the child. And if they found him fair, and well proportioned of all his limbs, and strong: they gave order he should be brought up, and appointed him one of the nine thousand parts of inheritance for his education. Contrariwise, if they found him deformed, misshapen, or lean, or

No adultery known in Sparta

Hardihood of Spartan boys

in learning how to obey, to away with pain, to endure labour, to overcome still in fight. According to their growth and years, they did change the exercises of their bodies: they did shave their heads, they went bare-legged, they were constrained to play naked together the most part of their time. After they were past twelve years of age, they ware no longer coats: and they gave them yearly but one seely gown. This was the cause they were always so nasty and sluttish, and they never used to bathe or noint themselves, saving only at certain days in the year, when they were suffered to taste of this refreshing. They lay and slept together upon beds of straw, which they themselves did make, of the tops of reeds or canes that grew in the river of Eurotas: which they were forced to go gather and break themselves with their hands, without any tool or iron at all. In the winter, they did mingle thistledown with these, which is called *lycophonas*, because that stuff seemeth somewhat warm of itself. About this time, the favourers and likers of this pretty youth, which were commonly the lustiest and best disposed youths of the city, began to be ofter in their company: and then the old men took the better regard unto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daily exercises, and where their use was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one should mock another. This did their old men, not by way of pastime only, but with such care and hearty love towards them, as if they had been altogether their fathers, maisters, and governors, while they were boys:

somuch as there was never time nor place, here they had not always some to admonish, prove, or correct them, if they did a fault. otwithstanding all this, there was ever one of e honestest men of the city, who had expressly e charge and governance of these boys. He d divide them in companies, and afterwards ve the oversight of them, to such a one of the ys as was discreetest, the manliest, the most rdy, and of the best courage amongst them. hey called the children that were past infancy o years, Irenes: and the greatest boys Mellines: as who would say, ready to go out of yerie. This boy who was made overseer of em, was commonly twenty years of age. He as their captain when they fought, and did mmand them as his servants when they were in e house: and willed them which were strongest, d the most grown, to carry wood when they ould prepare dinner or supper, and those which ere least and weakest, to go gather herbs, hich they must steal or lack them. So they ent out to steal some in gardens, some at the arkets, others in the halls where the feasts were pt, and men did eat together, into the which ey conveyed themselves as closely and cunngly as they could devise: for if they were ken with the manner, they were scourged rribly, because they were so gross and negligent, d not fine and cunning in their faculty. They ole also all other kind of meat, whatsoever they uld get or lay hands on. They pryed and ught all occasions how to take and steal meat ndsomely, both when men were asleep, or

The thrivery of the Lacedemonians

Straight diet causeth growth and height

else that they were careless or did not give good heed unto them. But he that was taken with the manner, had his payment roundly, and was punished with fasting besides: for they had but a slender pittance, because necessity should drive them to venter boldly, and wit should find out all the devices to steal finely. This was the chiefest cause, why they gave them so small a diet. The second cause was, that their bodies might grow up higher in height. For the vital spirits not being occupied to concoct and digest much meat, nor yet kept down, or spread abroad by the quantity or overburden thereof, do enlarge hemselves into length, and shoot up for their lightness: and for this reason they thought the body did grow in height and length, having nothing to let or hinder the rising of the same. It seemeth, that the self same cause made them fairer also. For the bodies that are lean and slender, do better and more easily yield to nature, which bringeth a better proportion and form to every member: and contrariwise it seemeth that gross, corpulent, and over-fed bodies do encounter nature, and be not so nimble and pliant to her, by reason of their heavy substance. As we see it by experience, the children which women bring a little before their time, and be somewhat cast before they should have been born, be smaller and fairer also, and more pure commonly than other that go their time: because the matter whereof the body is formed, being more supple and pliant, is the easier welded by nature, which giveth them their shape and form. Touching the natural cause of this effect, let us give place to

to dispute it that will, without our er deciding of the same. But to return to matter of the Lacedæmonians' children. y did rob with so great care, and fear to discovered, that they tell of one, which ıg stolen a little fox, did hide him under cloak, and suffered him with his teeth and s to tear out all his belly, and never cried, ear he should have been betrayed, until he down dead in the place where he stood. is not uncredible, by that we see young do abide at this day: for we have seen s, which have bidden whipping even to ı, upon the altar of Diana, surnamed Orthia. this under maister, who had the charge of company of these boys, used after supper ng yet at the table) to bid one of them a song: to another he put forth a question, was to be well advised of his answer, as example: Who is the honestest man in city? or how thinkest thou by that such a did? By this exercise they were inured boy's state, to judge of things well or ill , and to understand the life and government heir citizens. For which of them did not er quickly and directly to these questions, is a good man, who is an honest citizen, who not: they thought it was a sign of a wit, and careless nature, not given to any e, for desire of honour and estimation. hermore this under maister was ever to wait is answer, and to see it should be brief and knit up in words: otherwise his punishment answered crossly, or to little purpose, was

Children's exercise after their supper

The Lacedemonians' manner of loving

that his maister bit him by the thomb. Th
he did many times in the presence of the o
men and magistrates of the city, that they mig
see whether he punished them with reason
not, and according to their deserving. A
though he did hurt him, they did not by a
by reprove him, but when the children we
gone away, then was he himself rebuked a
punished, if he had corrected them too sore,
contrarily had favoured them too much. Mor
over they did ascribe the good or ill opini
conceived of the children, unto every of th
favourers, and lovers, which did affect a
entertain them: in as much as they say,
young boy upon a time fighting with anoth
and a cry scaping out of his mouth, which
faint cowardly heart did yield, his favourer a
lover was straightly condemned by the officers
the city to a fine. Albeit this love was a thi
even incorporated into them, that the m
honest and most vertuous women loved t
young maids thus also: yet was there
jealousy nor suspicion that grew hereof, b
rather to the contrary, there grew a marvello
mutual love and kindness between them, whi
lived in one self place. For either of them
all the means they could, did devise how
make the child they loved in common, t
wisest, the gentlest, and the best condition
above all other. They taught these children
speak in such sort, that their speech had ever
it a pleasant grace, and in few words co
prehended much matter. For Lycurgus ordain
a great mass and weight of iron money, sho

but little worth, and of a small value, as we : told you before: and contrarily, that ch in few words, without any affectation, ld hold much deep and grave matter, where- the children being acquainted, after long ce, should be brief and pithy in their vers. For as the seed of incontinent men ch are too busy with every rag and colman ge, can take no root to bring forth fruit: so immoderate speech, full of words and tattle, bringeth forth as little sense. Here- it cometh, that the answers of the onians were so short and witty. As they King Agis answered on a day an Athenian, jesting at the swords the Lacedæmonians wear, said they were so short, that these blers and jugglers did swallow them down in sight of all the world: and yet said Agis hurt our enemies with them for all that. mine own opinion, I like well of the onians' manner of speaking: which is not to k much, but when they speak, to touch the ter effectually, and to make the hearers erstand them. I think also, that Lycurgus' was short and quick in his talk. For man may conjecture by his answers which written: as that which he made to one who estly prayed him to stablish a popular state Lacedæmon, that the basest might have as t authority as the highest. Begin (quoth to do it first in thine own house. And as also which he answered another who asked why he had appointed so small things, and little of value to be offered to the gods?

Short speech taught among the Lacedemonians

Short sentences of certain Laconians

Because (quoth he) we should never cease to honour them. And as that which he spake another time, touching fights and frays, which was: that he did never forbid his citizens any of them, but those wherein they used to give their hand, as you would say to yield. Men find also such like answers, in some of his letters written to his citizens, as when they asked him: How can we defend our selves against our enemies? He answered: If ye be poor, and one do covet no more than another. And in another letter that was sent, where he discourseth, whether it were requisite to enclose the city with walls: he saith, can that city be without walls, which is environed with men, though it be uncompassed with stone? Nevertheless it is hard to resolve, whether those letters, and other such like that are shewed, be to be believed, or discredited to be his. But that long speech was much disliked, and reproved among the Lacedæmonians, it is manifestly to be seen by the words, which some amongst them have heretofore answered. As King Leonidas said one day, to one that discoursed with him many good things, but out of season: Friend, thou speakest many good words, but to little purpose. And Charilaus, nephew to Lycurgus, being asked why his uncle made so few laws: Because said he, to men of few words, few laws will serve. And Archidamidas said thus to some which reproved Hecatæus the orator, for that being bidden to supper at one of their feasts, he spake not a word all supper time: He who can speak well, knoweth also when to

. And where I have told before, that in feat and quick answers, commonly there ome pretty grace, it may be well seen and n by these that follow. Demaratus ered a busy fellow who troubled him too with vain importunate questions, asking still: who was the honestest man of dæmon? even he that is least like thyself. Agis said to some which highly praised Elians for their upright judgement, and just ig in the games Olympical. What wonder ye of it (quoth he) if in five years' space Elians one day do good justice? And pompus likewise to a stranger, who as ous to show his affection he bare the dæmonians, told him how everybody called Philolacon (as to say) a lover of dæmon. It were more honesty for thee he) to be named Philopolites, a lover of citizens. And Plistonax the son of anias, when an orator of Athens said the dæmonians were unlearned, and ignorant: sayest true quoth he, for we only of all Grecians have learned none of your ill tions. And Archidamidas, to one that nded of him, what number of fighting men might be of the Spartans: Enow said he, ive away the wicked. We may conjecture their manner of speaking, by their words in , which they spake sometimes playing wise: hey did never use to speak vain words at n, but it had always some secret meaning which required another's good observation would find it. As he which was desired

Sharp sentences of the Lacon-ians

The Lacedemonians' songs

to go hear the nightingale counterfeited naturally: I have (said he) heard the nightingale it self. And another which having read this inscription upon a tumb:

> When as they had well quenchéd tyranny
> Throughout their land, by worthy warlike power,
> Their hap was yet in wretched wise to die,
> By scaling Selinunta's strongest tower.

They well deserved death, said he, that did but quench tyranny: they should have quite consumed it with fire. And one younger boy to another, promising to give him such hardy cocks of the game, as should die in the place where they fought. O give me not those (said he) which will die, but those which with fighting will kill others. Another seeing men sitting in coaches and litters as they went: God forbid (said he) that I should ever sit in a chair, where I could not rise to my elders. Such were their answers and encounters. So that some had reason which said heretofore, to speak Laconian like, was to be philosopher like: as you would say, more to exercise the mind, than the body. Besides all this, they did study to sing well, and to make goodly ditties and songs. Then they spake most properly and featly. There was in their songs also a certain motion, I wot not what, which stirred up the hearers' hearts, and did kindle desire in them to do notable feats. Their tongue was plain, without affectation: their matter grave and moral, containing for the most part the praise of those, which were slain in battle for the defence of

r country, as being happy men: and a shame hose that live, which for faint hearts refused to die, to lead a miserable and unfortunate

Three dances among the Lacedemonians

Or else they sang how they were the erns for time to come, or the right glory the world, and the true representation of uous men: as the song would best become r ages which did sing. It shall not be im- inent for the better understanding hereof, to g you here an example. For in their open ts, there were always three dances, according the difference of the three ages. The dance he old men, thus began first for to sing:

have been young and strong, yet valiant heretofore,
crooked age did hold us back, and bad us do no more.

young men followed after, singing:

yet are yong, bold, strong, and ready to maintain
t quarrel still, against all men that do on earth remain.

third was of children that came after and

:

we do hope as well to pass you all at last,
that the world shall witness be, ere many years be past.

conclude, who nearly will consider the ks and makings of the Lacon poets (whereof e are yet extant) and will mark also the s and tunes of the pipe, after the sound and sure whereof they marched in array, going to

Terpander and Pindarus of the Laconians

charge the enemy: he shall find, that Terpander and Pindarus, had reason to join hardiness with music. For Terpander speaking of the Lacedæmonians, saith in a place:

> This is that land where deeds of chivalry
> Did flourish most, in many a martial feat:
> Where musick made her choice of harmony,
> And justice kept her stately royal feat.

And Pindarus speaking of them also saith:

> There grave advice is found in aged brains:
> There gallant youths are lusty lads in deed,
> Which can both sing, and dance, in courtlike trains:
> Yet dàunt their foes with many a doughty deed.

By which testimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and described them to have loved music, and the wars together. For as another Lacon poet saith:

> It fitteth well, and is a seemly thing,
> For such as spend their time in feats of war:
> To have the skill, sweet sonnets for to sing,
> And touch the harp withouten jangling jar.

For this cause therefore in all their wars, when they should give battell, the king did first sacrifice to the Muses, to put his soldiers in mind (as it should seem) of the discipline and wisdom of the Muses that they had been brought up in: to the end that when his soldiers were in the most extreme danger, the Muses should present themselves before the soldiers' eyes, to prick them forwards to do some noble

cts of worthy memory. In their time of war, hey did tolerate their young men a little of heir hard and old accustomed life, and suffered hem then to trim their hairs, to have brave rmour, to wear gay apparel, and took as great lelight therein, to see them gallant and lusty, as o behold young neying and snorting horses, lesirous for to fight. And although from the eginning of their youth, they did use to wear ong hairs: yet were they never so careful to comb and brush their heads, as when they hould to the battell. For when they did noint hemselves with sweet oils, and did shed their air, remembring Lycurgus' saying: who was wont to tell them, that hairs to them which were fair, did make them more fair, and to hem that were foul, they made them more ugly nd dreadful. The exercises also of their bodies, were more easy and gentle, and not so hard and traight in their wars, as they were in a peace: nd generally, their whole manner of life was ot then so straightly viewed, nor yet con-rolled. So as they only were the men of the world, to whom wars were made a rest from abour, which men ordinarily do endure, to make hem fitter for the wars. Afterwards when their rmy was set in battell ray, even in the face of he enemy, the king did straight sacrifice a goat nto the gods, and forthwith commanded all is soldiers to put their garlands of flowers on heir heads, and willed that the pipes should ound the song of Castor, at the noise and tune hereof, he himself began first to march for-ard. So that it was a marvellous pleasure, and

War a relief from the labours of peace

Their manner of battle

likewise a dreadful sight, to see the whole battell march together in order, at the sound of the pipes, and never to break their pace, nor confound their ranks, nor to be dismayed nor amazed themselves, but to go on quietly and joyfully at the sound of these pipes, to hazard them selves even to death. For it is likely, that such courages are not troubled with much fear, nor yet overcome with much fury: but rather they have an assured constancy and valiantness in good hope, as those which are backed with the assisting favour of the gods. The king marching in this order, had always some about him, which had before time won the prizes in games and jousts. And they say there was one of these on a time, that was offered a great sum of money at the games Olympical, not to present himself at them: but he refused it, liking better with great pain to win the prize, than for much money to lose his honour. Whereupon one said unto him: Laconian, and what hast thou gotten now, to carry away the prize with so much sweat? The Laconian answered him laughing: I shall fight in the battell, saith he, before the king. When they had once broken into their enemies, they did still fiercely and fiercelier set upon them, and did never cease, until their enemies gave way and fled: and then they chased and followed them still, until such time as their overthrow and flight had assured them of the victory. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their camp, judging it to be no manhood, neither the part of a noble mind, or of so worthy a nation as the

Grecians were, to kill and hew in pieces, men so scattered and out of order, having forsaken all the hope of victory. This fell out not only honourable, but also very profitable for them. For they which were in battell against them, knowing they killed none but such as resisted stoutly, and how they did let other go which fled before them: they found it was more their benefit to fly, than to tarry and abide the strokes. Hippias the sophister saith, that Lycurgus himself was a very good captain, and a great soldier, as he that had been in many foughten fields: and Philostephanus ascribeth to him the device to put horsemen in troops and companies, which they called Oulames, whereof fifty men-at-arms was a troop, whose manner was to put themselves in squadrons. But Demetrius the Phalerian writeth otherwise, that Lycurgus was never at the wars, and that he made all his laws and government in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermission of wars during the plays Olympical, which they say he devised, doth shew in apparance that he was a gentle-natured man, and one that loved quietness and peace. Some notwithstanding (amongst whom Hermippus was one) say, he was not with Iphitus at the first beginning when he ordained the plays Olympical, but that by chance he happened to come thither, passing by in his journey only, and that he stayed there to see the games: where he thought he heard the voice of a man behind him, saying, he marvelled much why he did not persuade his citizens also to be partners of this new device: and turning back to see who it was

The games Olympical

The Laconians' opinion to serve their country

that spake to him, he saw nobody. Whereupon he took a conceit that it was a speech from the gods: and went therefore presently to seek out Iphitus, with whom he made all the statutes and orders of the feast, which afterwards were far more famous, better ordered, and more stately than before. But to return again to the Lacedæmonians: their discipline and order of life continued still, after they were full-grown men. For it was not lawful for any man to live as he listed; but they were within their city, as if they had been in a camp, where every man knoweth what allowance he hath to live withal, and what business he hath else to do in his calling. To be short, they were all of this mind, that they were not born to serve themselves, but to serve their country. Therefore if they were commanded nothing else, they went continually to see what the children did, and to teach them somewhat which might profit the common weal, or else they went to learn of those which were their elders. For one of the best and happiest things which Lycurgus ever brought into his city, was the great rest and leisure which he made his citizens to have, only forbidding them that they should not profess any vile or base occupation: and they needed not also to be careful to get great riches, in a place where goods were nothing profitable nor esteemed. For the Helotes, which were made bond-men by the wars, did till their grounds, and yielded them a certain revenue every year. And as touching this matter, they tell of a Lacedæmonian, who being on a day at Athens, where the law was

pleaded, did understand that a citizen there was condemned for idleness, and how he went home to his house very sorrowfully, accompanied with his friends which were sorry for him, and greatly lamented his ill hap. The Lacedæmonian then prayed those which were about him, to shew him the man condemned for living nobly, and like a gentleman. I have alleged this, to shew how he thought it a vile and servile thing to exercise any handy craft, or to work anything by hand to get money. For suits in law, a man may be well assured they were banished with the gold and silver from Lacedæmon, considering now there was no more avarice nor covetousness there, nor yet poverty nor lack, but equality with abundance, and quiet life with sobriety. All other times but when they had wars, they followed dancing, feasts, plays, bankets, hunting, or other exercises of body, and meetings to pass the time away. For the young men until they came to thirty years of age, never went into the market to buy any provision or things for the house, but did their fathers' or their friends' business: nay it was a shame for the oldest men, to haunt the market too often. As to the contrary, it was honourable for them to be present at the shew-place the most part of the day, where they diversely exercised their bodies, and likewise to be at the places of assembly, there to spend time with talking together, and discoursing honestly one with another, without talking of any matter of gain, traffic, or money. For all their talk (for the most part) was about the praising of some

How they spent the time in Sparta

Public spirit in Sparta

honest thing, or sporting wise to reprove some dishonesty, which always carried with it some gentle lesson or monition by the way. For Lycurgus was not such a sower man, as they never saw him laugh: but as Sosibius writeth, it was he that first sacrificed to the little god of laughter, which is at Lacedæmon, because he would mingle their feasts and assemblies with mirth, as a pleasant sauce to ease the trouble of their strict and hard life. To be brief, he did accustom his citizens so, that they neither would nor could live alone, but were in manner as men incorporated one with another, and were always in company together, as the bees be about their maister bee: still in a continual love to serve their country, to win honour, and to advance the common-weal. Which affection of theirs is plain and easily seen to be imprinted in them by certain of their answers, as in that which Pædaretus said on a time, being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred. Who departing home to his house mery and jocund as might be, said: It did him good to see there were three hundred found better in the city than himself. Pisistratidas also being sent ambassador with certain others to the lieutenants of the King of Persia, the Persian lords asked him, if they came of their own desire, or whether they were sent from the whole State: If we obtain, said he, it is from the State: if we be denied, then we come of ourselves. And Argileonis the mother of Brasidas, asked some that went to visit her after they were returned home to Lacedæmon from their journey

to Amphipolis, if her son died like a man, and a worthy Spartan. And they straight did commend him highly, saying: there was not left in all Lacedæmon such a valiant man. She replied unto them, Say not so, my friends, I pray you: for Brasidas was indeed a valiant man, but the country of Laconia hath many moe yet valianter than he was. Now touching their Senate: Lycurgus was the first that erected it among them. The first that were thereof, were Lycurgus' chief aiders and assisters of that erection, as we have declared before: but afterwards he ordained, that when any of those first should happen to die, they should choose in his place the most honest reported man in the city, so he were threescore years old and above. This was the noblest glory that could be among men, when a man bare the bell and prize, not that he was swiftest among the swift, nor strongest among the strong, but that he among the honest was honestest. He had the reward of his vertue, as for liberty to speak, sovereign authority to govern, and princely power over the commonweal, the honour, the life, and the goods of the whole citizens: howbeit the election was made after this sort. The people first assembled in the market-place, where there were some appointed and shut up thereabout in a house, from whence they could neither see, nor be seen of those that were assembled, but only they might hear the noise which they made there. For the people by their cry and shout, did declare whom they did choose, and whom they did refuse of the competitors, as they used to shew

The manner of choosing the Senate in Sparta

What was done, the Senator being chosen

their liking by the like cry in other things. The competitors were not brought in, and presented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fell, passed through the midst of the assembly of the people, and said never a word. The people straight that liked, made a cry or shout aloud. The men appointed which were locked up, had books or tables in which they wrote and noted the greatness of the cry and shout the people made, as every competitor passed by, not knowing nor seeing who he was. These hidden men did only set down in their books, the first, the second, the third, and so many more, as by shouts and cries they perceived did pass thus through the assembly. They noted also in their said books, which of these had the greatest cry and shout of people at their passing through: and him they came and declared to be Senator chosen. Then he wearing a garland of flowers on his head, went to all the temples of the gods in the city to give thanks, having a great train of young men following, and praising of his vertues. There went also with him a marvellous company of women singing songs of his praise, and how blessed he was, that he had had lived so vertuously. Then every one of his kin prepared a banquet for him at home at their houses, and as he entered the house, they said unto him: The city honoureth thee with this banquet. That done, he repaired afterwards to the ordinary place of their eating, where he did in all things as he was accustomed, saving he was served now at his table with a

double allowance, whereof he reserved the one. After supper, all his kinswomen stood in the entry of the hall where they had eaten: so he called her whom he loved best, and gave her his allowance he had saved, and said to her: This was given me in token I was this day rewarded for my vertue: and even so I give it thee for a like token of reward for thy vertue. Then was she brought home by all the women there to her house, even in like sort as he was by the men. Touching burials, Lycurgus made a wise order: For first of all, to cut off all superstition of burying places, he commanded they should bury their dead within the city, and that their graves should be round about their temples, that young persons might have them always in their eyes, and not be affraid to see a dead body, as if to touch a corpse, or to pass by their graves, it should defile a man. Then did he forbid them to bury anything with the corse, and willed they should only lap it up in a red cloth, with olive leaves. It was not lawful to grave the name of any dead body upon his grave, but only of such a man as died in the wars, or of some holy woman professed into their temples. Furthermore, the time appointed to mourn in, was very short. For it lasted not but eleven days, and on the twelth day, they must do sacrifice to Proserpina, and so leave off their mourning. To conclude, he left nothing idle, or unworking in his citizens: for to all necessary things which men cannot lack, Lycurgus joined ever a certain emulation of men: as to desire vertue, and to contemn vice: and furnished his city with many good

The manner of burial with the Lacedemonians

No strangers suffered to dwell in Sparta

precepts and examples, among which his citizens being still born and bred up, and having the same in every place before their eyes where they went, they came to pass in time to be framed after the very pattern and mould of vertue it self. For this cause he did not suffer any to travel out of the country, or to go abroad as he would, without special licence, for fear lest those which travelled abroad for their pleasure, should bring home strange fashions and manners, and a corrupt disordered life, which by little and little might get way, and bring an alteration and change of the whole State. Furthermore, he kept out of Sparta all strangers, except those which had necessary business there, or were come thither for some profit to the country: not that he was afraid they should learn something whereby to love vertue, or that they should desire to follow his fashion and manner of government, as Thucydides was: but rather fearing they should teach his citizens some naughty manners, or some ill-favoured vice. For it must needs be, that strangers bring ever strange and new devices with them: which new devices bring with them also new opinions: and new opinions beget new affections and minds, that many times are repugnant to the law, and to the form of the common-weal established before, as discords do many times in an harmony of music, that before agreed very well together. Therefore he judged it a thing most necessary to keep his city free and safe from counterfaiting of any strangers' manners or fashions, that were commonly as persons, infected with some con-

tagious sickness. Now in all we have spoken before, even to this place, there is no manner of token or shew of injustice, or lack of equity, wherewith some seem to burden Lycurgus in his laws: by saying they were well made, to make men warlike and valiant, but not to be just or righteous. But concerning the law they call Cryptia, as much to say, as their secret: if it were of Lycurgus' institution, as Aristotle saith, it might have carried Plato into the like opinion that Lycurgus had of his common weal. This was the law: The governors which had the charge and oversight of the young men, at certain appointed times, did choose out those they thought to have the best discretion, and sent them abroad into the country, some one way, some another way, who carried with them daggers, and some provision to feed them. These young men being thus dispersed abroad in the country, did hide themselves all the day close in secret places, and there they lay and took their rest: afterwards when night was come, they went to seek out the high ways, and killed the first of the Helotes that they met. Sometimes even in the broad day, they went into the country to kill the strongest and stoutest of them as Thucydides telleth in his history of the wars of Peloponnesus, where he saith, That a certain convenient number of the Helotes were crowned, by a public proclamation of the Spartans: and being infranchised, for their good services they had done the common weal, they were carried to all the temples of the gods for an honour. Within a while after, no man knew what was become of them, being about two thousand in number: so

The cruelty of the Lacedemonians against the Helots

Drunken Helots that never man heard tell neither then nor since, how they came to their deaths. Howbeit Aristotle above all others saith, that the Ephors, so soon as they were placed in their offices, made war with the Helotes, because they might lawfully kill them. And it is true, that in other things they did handle them very hardly. For they forced them sometimes to drink wine without water out of measure, till they had made them stark drunk. Then they brought them all into their common halls where they did eat, to make their children to behold them, and to see what beastliness it was for a man to be drunk. Likewise they made them sing songs, and dance dances, unfit for honest men, and such as were full of derision and mockery, and did forbid them expressly to sing any honest songs. So it is reported, that in the journey the Thebans made to Laconia, many of the Helotes were taken prisoners thereat, and when they were commanded to sing the verses of Terpander, or of Alcman, or of Spendon the Laconian, they would not do it: saying, they durst not sing them for their maisters. Wherefore he that first said in the country of Lacedæmonia, he that is free is more free, and he that is bond, is more bond than in other places: knew very well the diversity between the liberty and bondage there, and the liberty and bondage of other countries. But in my opinion, the Lacedæmonians began to use these great outrages and cruelties, long time after the death of Lycurgus, and especially since the great earthquake that happened at Sparta, at which time the Helotes rose against them with

the Messenians, and did great mischief through the country, and put the city to the greatest distress and danger that ever it had. For I cannot be persuaded, that ever Lycurgus invented, or instituted, so wicked and mischievous an act, as that kind of ordinance was: because I imagine his nature was gentle and merciful, by the clemency and justice we see he used in all his other doings, and was witnessed besides by open oracle from the gods, for a just and wise man. Furthermore, they say of him, that when he saw the chiefest points of his government had taken deep root, and that the form of his common weal went on, and was strong enough to maintain and keep itself a foot, like as Plato saith that God rejoiced greatly after he had made the world, and saw the same turn and move his first moving: even so Lycurgus taking singular pleasure and delight in his mind, to see his notable laws put in ure, and so well established and liked of by experience, sought yet to make them immortal, as near as he could possible, by any forecast of man, that no aftertime whatsoever, might change or put them down. To bring this to pass, he caused all the people to assemble, and told them he thought his civil policy and state of common weal was already sufficiently established, for vertuous and happy life: yet there was one matter behind of greater importance than all the rest, which he could not yet declare unto them, until he had first asked counsel of the oracle of Apollo. And therefore in the mean time they should keep and observe his laws and ordinances inviolably, without changing, remov-

Lycurgus' wonderful counsel in stablishing his laws

Lycurgus' death

ing, or staying any matter therein, until he were returned from the city of Delphes, and then they should do that other thing behind, if the god then so counselled him. They all promised him to do it, and prayed him to make haste to go on his journey. But before he departed, he made the kings and senators swear first, and consequently all the people after, that they would keep his laws and ordinances without changing or altering anything, until he did return again. This done, he went to the city of Delphes, where so soon as he arrived, he sacrificed in the temple to Apollo, and asked him: If the laws he had made were good to make a man an happy life. Apollo made him answer, his laws were very good, and that his city keeping them, should be the most renowmed of the world. Lycurgus caused this oracle to be written, which he sent to Sparta. After he sacrificed to Apollo again: and then taking leave of his friends, and of his son, he determined to die, because his citizens should never be released of the oath they had made between his hands. When he had this determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hath strength enough to live longer: and yet was old enough also to die if he would. Wherefore finding himself happy to have obtained his desire, he willingly pined him self to death, by abstinence, and lack of meat. For he thought it meet, that the very death of great personages should bring benefit ever to the common-weal, and that the end of their life should be no more idle, or unprofitable, than the rest of their life before: nay rather,

that it was one of their most meritorious acts, to have their death extolled for worthiness. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection and crown of his felicity, after he had made and ordained so many good and notable laws, for the honour and benefit of his country: and should be as a seal of confirmation of his law, and the continual preservitor of this city, considering all his citizens had sworn to keep them, all inviolably, until he were returned. He was not deceived of his hope, for his city was the chiefest of the world, in glory and honour of government, by the space of five hundred years. For so long his city kept his laws without any change or alteration by any of the kings successors, until King Agis, the son of Archidamus began to reign. For the creation of the Ephors, did not break, nor discontinue any of the laws of Lycurgus, but reduced them rather to a more straight and strict order: although it seemed at the first that the Ephors were ordained, for the maintenance and defence of the liberty of the people, whereas indeed they did also strengthen the authority of the Kings and Senate. Now in the reign of King Agis, gold and silver began first to creep in again to the city of Sparta, by means of Lysander. With money there came in straight covetousness, and greediness to get and gather. And although Lysander was not desirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money: yet he brought riches and covetousness into the country, and filled the same with all fineness, by bringing in great store of gold and silver from the wars,

Lysander brought in riches again into Sparta

Good government breedeth due obedience

directly against the laws and ordinances of Lycurgus. The which so long as they were in force and use, it appeared that the government of Sparta, seemed not to be a policy or commonweal, but rather a certain holy place and order of religion. And even as the poets feign, that Hercules went through the world with his club, and lion's skin, punishing cruel robbers, and unnatural tyrants: so in like case with a little scroll of parchment, and a poor cape, did the Spartans command and give laws to all the rest of Greece, even with their good liking and consent. And they chased the tyrants away, which usurped tyrannical power over any of their cities, and did decide all controversies, and oftentimes pacified their seditions, without sending out one soldier, but only a simple poor ambassador. At whose commandment, the people presently assembled like the bees, which gather together about their king, so soon as they spy him: they did then so greatly reverence the good government and justice of the Spartans. Therefore I can but wonder much at those which say, the city of Lacedæmon could obey well, but not command: and for proof they allege words of King Theopompus, who answered one which said, that Sparta was maintained, because the kings could command well. Nay the rather (said he) because the citizens can obey well. For men commonly disdain to obey those, which are not wise in commanding. So that the faithful obedience of the subjects, dependeth much upon the sufficient commandment of the wise prince. For he that directeth well, must needs

be well obeyed. For like as the art of a good rider, is to make his horse gentle, and ready at commandment: even so the chiefest point belonging to a prince, is to teach his subjects to obey. Wherefore the Lacedæmonians procured, that not only other people did willingly obey them, but also desired to be ruled and commanded by them. For they asked them, neither ships nor money, nor yet did send them any number of men of war to compel them, but only they sent one citizen of Sparta to govern them, to whom all the other people submitted themselves, and were holpen by him in their necessity, as fearing and reverencing him. In this wise the Sicilians were holpen by Gylippus, the Chalcidians by Brasidas, and all the Grecians inhabiting Asia, by Lysander, Callicratidas, and by Agesilaus, who were called the reformers and directors of princes, peoples, and kings, unto whom they were sent here and there: but ever they had their eye upon the city of Sparta, as upon the most perfect pattern to order man's life by, and to govern a common weal after. To this effect tended the merry word spoken in jest by Stratonicus: Who said he did order the Athenians to tend their sacrifices, and the Eleans to tend their games: and if they made any fault therein, the Lacedæmonians should be well whipped. That was merrily spoken, and in a jesting manner. But Antisthenes (the philosopher and one of Socrates' scholars) seeing the Thebans grown very haughty and glorious, after that they had conquered the Lacedæmonians in the journey of Leuctra: Me thinketh said he, these Thebans

Spartan governors were willingly obeyed

The foundation of a common weal

here do like the school-boys, which brag and rejoice when they have a little beaten their master. But this was not Lycurgus' meaning, to have his city to command many. But he thought the felicity of a city, as of a private man, consisted chiefly in the exercise of vertue, and in the unity of the inhabitants thereof. He framed his common wealth to this end, that his citizens should be nobly minded, content with their own, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might maintain and keep themselves long in safety. The self-same intention had Plato, Diogenes, and Zeno, in setting forth their books, which they wrote of the government of commonwealths: and so had likewise many other great and learned men which have written of the same matter. Howbeit they only left behind them, words, and written books: but Lycurgus contrariwise, left no written books nor pamphlets, but established and left behind him, a royal form of government, which no man ever before had invented, nor never after could be followed. He hath made them plainly see a whole city live together, and govern itself philosophically, according to the true rules and precepts of perfect wisdom: which imagined that true wisdom was a thing hanging in the air, and could not visibly be seen in the world. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glory all those, which ever took upon them to write or stablish the government of a common weal. And therefore saith Aristotle, that after his death they did him less honour in Lacedæmonia, than he had deserved: albeit they did him all the

honour they possibly could devise. And yet they built a temple for him, and made solemn sacrifice to him every year, as unto a god. More, they say, that when the ashes of his body were brought to Sparta, there fell straight lightning upon his tomb where they were put, which they had not often seen to happen to other men of name after their decease, saving only to the poet Euripides, who dying in Macedonia, was buried near the city of Arethusa. The which is some manifest argument, for such as love the poet, to lay against those which somewhat deprave him, seeing this sign came to him after his death, which had happened before to a most well-beloved man of the gods. Some say Lycurgus died in the city of Cirrha. But Apollothemis saith, he died in Elida. Timæus and Aristoxenus write, he ended his days in Creta. And Aristoxenus saith further, that those of the isle of Creta do shew his grave in the place which they call Pergamia, by the broad highway's side. He left one only begotten son named Antiorus, who died without issue, so that his house and name failed with him. But his near kinsmen and familiar friends, did set up a company or brotherhood in memory of him, which continued a long time: and the days wherein they assembled, were called the Lycurgides. There is another Aristocrates (the son of Hipparchus) who saith, that he being dead in Creta, his friends burned his body, and afterwards threw his ashes into the sea, according as he had prayed and requested them. For he feared, that if any part of him should at any

Divine honours to Lycurgus after his death

The end of his life

time have been brought to Sparta, the inhabitant would have said he was returned again, and thereby would have thought themselves discharged of their oath, and might have lawfully altered the laws which he had appointed. And this is the discourse and end of Lycurgus' life.

THE LIFE OF NUMA POMPILIUS

In what time Numa was

THE historiographers differ marvellously of the time, in which Numa Pompilius reigned king, albeit some will derive from him many noble houses descended in Rome. For one Clodius, who wrote the book intituled the Table of Time, affirmeth that the ancient registers of the city of Rome were lost when it was taken and sacked by the Gauls: and that those which are extant at this day be not true, but were only made by men desirous to gratify some, which have thrust in ancient houses and families of the first Romans, that concern nothing them whom they meant to represent. On the other side, although the common opinion be, that Numa was a familiar friend and scholar of Pythagoras the philosopher, yet some say he was never learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greek tongue. And yet maintaining that it is possible enough, that he was so well born, and had such perfection in all kind of vertue, that he never needed any master: and though he had needed, they had rather attribute the honour of the instructing of this king unto some other foreign person, that was more excellent than Pythagoras. Other say, that Pythagoras the philosopher was long

The matter is hard to decide

time after the reign of Numa, and wellnigh five ages after him. Howbeit other say, there was another Pythagoras born in Sparta (who having won the prize of running at the games Olympical, in the sixteenth Olympiade, and the third year of Numa's reign) did come into Italy, where he kept much about Numa, and did assist and help him in the governing and ordering of his realm. By means whereof there be many customs yet of the Laconians, mingled with the Romans, which this second Pythagoras was said to have taught him. Nevertheless it is not confessed that Numa was born of the Sabines, which they say are descended from the Lacedæmonians. So it falleth out very hard to agree certainly of the time when Numa was, and chiefly for such as will follow the roll or table of those, which from Olympiad to Olympiad have won the prizes of games Olympical: considering the roll or table that they have at this present, was very lately published by one Hippias an Elean, who delivereth no reason or argument of necessity, why it should be taken for an undoubted truth, which he in that sort hath gathered. Yet we will not leave to put in writing those things worthy of memory which we could gather by any means of King Numa, beginning at that place which we thought to be meetest. It was now since Rome was built, seven and thirty years (for so long time reigned Romulus) when Romulus the fifth of the month of July (which they call the Nones of the Goats) made a solemn sacrifice without the city, near to a certain place com-

monly called, the Goat Marsh. As all the whole Senate, with the most part of the people, were present at this sacrifice, suddenly there rose in the air a very great tempest, and a marvellous dark thick cloud, which fell on the earth with such boisterous winds, storms, lightnings, and thunder: that the poor common people being afraid of so sore a tempest, dispersed themselves suddenly, running here and there for succour, and therewithal King Romulus vanished away in such sort, that he was never after seen alive nor dead. This brought the Senators and noble men whom they called Patricians, into great suspicion. And there ran a foul tale among the common people, how they had long time borne very impatiently to be subjects to a king, because themselves would have had and taken upon them some sovereign authority, and that for this cause they had killed King Romulus. Adding somewhat more unto it, how a little before he had used them more roughly, and commanded them more straightly than he was wont or accustomed. Nevertheless they found the means to quench all these bruits and murmurings, by doing divine honour and sacrifice unto him, as one not dead, but passed to a better life. To confirm this, one of the noblest men among them called Proclus came in, and by oath, affirmed before all the people, that he saw Romulus ascending up into heaven, armed at all pieces, and that he heard a voice say: From thenceforth call him Quirinus. This being thus appeased, there sprang up another trouble, to know whom they should choose in his place.

The passing of Romulus

Dissension at Rome about choosing of their king

For the strangers which were come then from other places to dwell in Rome, were not yet throughly joined to the natural born Romans: in so much, as the common people did not only waver, and stagger up and down in opinion, but the Senators also (that were many and of divers nations) did enter into a suspicion one of another. These things notwithstanding they all agreed in this, that of necessity they must choose a king: howbeit in the rest they differed much, not only whom they should choose, but also of what nation he should be. For those which were the first founders and builders of the city of Rome with Romulus, could in no wise abide nor suffer that the Sabines (to whom they had divided part of their lands, and a moiety of their city) should attempt and presume to command them, whom they did receive and associate into their company and fellowship. The Sabines alleged on the other side for them, a good reason, and such as carried great probability. Which was, that never since the death of their King Tatius, they neither had in anything disobeyed nor disquieted King Romulus, but had suffered him to reign peaceably: and therefore Romulus being now deceased, reason would that the new king should be chosen of their nation. And that albeit the Romans had received them into their city, they could not say therefore, that in time of this association, they were less to be reckoned of in anything, than themselves. Further, they added, that in joining with them, the Romans had doubly increased their might and power, and had made a body of a people, which deserved

he honour and title of a city. These were the causes of their contention. But to prevent that if this contention there might grow no confusion n the city, if it should remain without a head o command: the Senators, which were a undred and fifty in number, gave counsel that very one of them by turns, one after another, should carry the royal state of the king, and all the shews and ornaments of his majesty, and should do the ordinary sacrifices of the king, and dispatch all causes, six hours in the day, and six hours in the night, as the king before had used. Thus they thought it best to divide the rule, that one might have as much power as the other, as well in respect of themselves, as also for regard of the people. For they imagined, that the changing and removing thus of this regal dignity, and passing it from man to man, would clean take away envy among them, and make every of them to rule temperately and uprightly, seeing that in one and the self same day and night, every of them should be a king and private person also. The Romans call this manner of regiment in vacation, Interregnum: as you would say, rule for the time. Now albeit their government was very modest and civil, yet they could not for all that keep themselves from falling into the suspicion, and slander of the people: who gave it out straight, that this was a fine device of theirs, to change by this means the rule of the realm into a few noble men's hands, to the end that the whole authority and government of all public causes, should remain still in themselves, because it grieved them to be

The Interregnum

Numa chosen king

subject to a king. And in the end, the two parties of the city came to this agreement: that the one part should choose one of the body of the other, to be the king. This course they liked very well, as well for the pacification of present stir and dissension amongest themselves, as for procuring equality of affection, and stirring up a likeness of goodwill in the king that thus indifferently should be chosen: whereby he should love the one part for that they had chosen him, and likewise the other part for that he was of their nation. The Sabines were the first, which referred the election to the Romans' choice: and the Romans thought it better to choose one of the nation of the Sabines, than to have a Roman chosen by the Sabines. After they had consulted, they determined amongst themselves: and did choose Numa Pompilius, one of the body of the Sabines, to be king, who was one of the number of them which came to dwell at Rome, howbeit he was a man so famous for his vertue, that the Sabines so soon as they named him, did receive him more willingly, than they who had chosen him. After they had thus published their election, the first and chiefest persons of the one and the other side, were chosen out to go unto him. Now Numa Pompilius was born in one of the chiefest and best cities which the Sabines had, called Cures, whereupon the Romans, and their fellows the Sabines, were called afterwards Quirites; and he was the son of Pomponius, a noble man, the youngest of four brethren: being by the secret working of the gods, born on

the very day, on the which Rome was first founded by Romulus, which was the one and twentieth day of April. This man being naturally given and inclined unto all vertue, did yet increase the same, by study, and all kind of good discipline: and by the exercise thereof, and of true patience, and right philosophy, he did marvellously adorn himself and his manners. For he did not only clear his soul, and mind, of all passions and vices commonly used in the world: but he conquered in himself all heats, violence, and covetousness. And would neither seek nor usurp, that which was another man's, a thing at that time honoured among the most barbarous people: but thought that to be the true and right victory in man, first to conquer and command himself by judgement and reason, and then to subdue all covetousness and greediness. Having therefore this opinion, he would in no wise have in his house any superfluity or fineness. He became to every man that would employ him (as well stranger as his own countryman) a wise counsellor, and an upright judge. He bestowed his leisure, not to follow his own delight, or to gather goods together: but to serve the gods, and to behold their celestial nature and power, as much as man's reason and understanding could comprehend. Thereby he got so great a name and reputation, that Tatius (which was king of Rome with Romulus) having but one only daughter called Tatia, made him his son-in-law. Howbeit this marriage put him in no such jollity, that he would dwell at Rome with his father-in-law, but

The life and manners of Numa before his reign

Numa conversant with the goddess Egeria

rather kept at home at his own house in the country of the Sabines, there to serve and cherish his old father with his wife Tatia; who for her part also liked better, to live quietly with her husband being a private man, than to go to Rome where she might have lived in much honour and glory by means of the king her father. She died as it is reported, thirteen years after she was married. After her death, Numa leaving to dwell in the city, was better contented to live in the country alone, and solitary, and gave himself to walk much in the fields and woods consecrated to the gods, as one desirous to lead a lone life, far from the company of men. Whereupon was raised (in my opinion) that which is spoken of him, and of the goddess Egeria. That it was not for any strangeness, or melancholiness of nature, that Numa withdrew himself from the conversation and company of men, but because he had found another more honourable and holy society of the nymph, and goddess Egeria, who had done him, as they say, that honour, as to make him her husband: with whom as his beloved darling it is said he enjoyed happy days, and by daily frequenting of her company, he was inspired with the love and knowledge of all celestial things. Surely, these devices are much like unto certain old fables of the Phrygians, which they having learned from the father to the son, do love to tell of one Attys: of the Bithynians, of one Herodotus: of the Arcadians, of one Endymion: and of many other such like men, who in their lives were taken for saints, and

beloved of the gods. Notwithstanding, it is likely, that the gods love neither birds, nor horse, but men, and have sometimes a liking to be familiar with perfect good men, and do not disdain sometime the conversation of such as be holy, religious, and devout. But to believe the gods have carnal knowledge, and do delight in the outward beauty of creatures, that seemeth to carry a very hard belief. Yet the wise Egyptians think it probable enough and likely, that the spirit of the gods hath given the original of generation to women, and do beget fruit of their bodies: howbeit they hold that a man can have no corporeal company with any divine nature. Wherein they do not consider, that everything that joineth together, doth deliver again a like substance, to that wherewith it was joined. This notwithstanding, it is meet we should believe the gods bear good will to men, and that of it doth spring their love, whereby men say the gods love those whose manners they purify and inspire with vertue. And they do not offend, which feign that Phorbas, Hyacinthus and Admetus, were sometimes the lovers of Apollo, and also Hippolytus the Sicyonian: of whom they report, that ever when he passed over the arm of the sea which lieth between the cities of Sicyon and of Cirrha, the god which knew he came, rejoiced, and caused Pythia the prophetess to pronounce these heroical verses.

Gods familiar with men

I know full well, my dear Hippolytus
Returns by sea, my mind devineth thus.

It is said also that Pan was in love with Pindarus

Cynical statecraft

and his verses, and that the gods honoured the poets Hesiodus, and Archilochus, after their death by the Muses. They say moreover, that Æsculapius lay with Sophocles in his lifetime, and at this day they do yet shew many tokens thereof: and after his death, another god (as it is reported) made him to be honourably buried. Now if they grant, that such things may be true: how can we refuse to believe, that some gods have been familiar with Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroastres, Lycurgus, Numa, and such other like personages, which have governed kingdoms, and established common weals? and it is not unlike that the gods indeed did company with them, to inspire and teach them many notable things, and that they did draw near unto these poets and players of the harp, that made and played many doleful and joyful ditties, at the least for their sport and pleasure only, if ever they came near them. Nevertheless if any man be of other opinion, the way is open and large as Bacchylides said, to think and say as he lust. For my self I do find, that which is written of Lycurgus, Numa, and other such persons, not to be without likelihood and probability: who having to govern rude, churlish, and stiff-necked people, and purposing to bring in strange novelties into the governments of their countries, did feign wisely to have conference with the gods, considering this feigning fell to be profitable and beneficial to those themselves, whom they made to believe the same. But to return to our history. Numa was forty years old, when the ambassadors of Rome were sent to present the kingdom unto

im, and to entreat him to accept thereof. **The oration of Numa refusing to be king**
roculus, and Velesus, were the ambassadors that ere sent. One of the which the people looked hould have been chosen for king, because those f Romulus' side, did favour much Proculus: and hose of Tatius' part favoured Velesus. Now hey used no long speech unto him, because they hought he would have been glad of such a great ood fortune. But contrarily it was indeed a ery hard thing, and required great persuasions, nd much entreaty, to move a man which had lways lived quietly, and at ease, to accept the egiment of a city, which as a man would say, ad bin raised up and grown by wars and artial deeds. Wherefore he answered them in he presence of his father, and one other of his insmen called Marcius in this sort: Change nd alteration of man's life is ever dangerous; ut for him that lacketh nothing necessary, nor ath cause to complain of his present state, it is great folly to leave his old acquainted trade of fe, and to enter into another new and unknown, there were no other but this only respect: hat he leaveth a certainty, to venter upon un-ertainty. Howbeit there is further matter in his, that the dangers and perils of this kingdom hich they offer me, are not altogether uncertain, we will look back what happened unto omulus. Who was not unsuspected to have id wait, to have had Tatius his fellow and com-anion murdered: and now after Romulus' death, e Senators' selves are mistrusted to have killed im on the other side by treason. And yet they y it, and sing it everywhere: that Romulus

Numa a man of peace

was the son of a god, that at his birth he was miraculously preserved, and afterwards he was as incredibly brought up. Whereas for my own part, I do confess, I was begotten by a mortal man, and was fostered, brought up, and taught by men as you know: and these few qualities which they praise and commend in me, are conditions far unmeet for a man that is to reign. I ever loved a solitary life, quiet and study, and did exempt my self from worldly causes. All my lifetime I have sought and loved peace above all things, and never had to do with any wars. My conversation hath been to company with men, which meet only to serve and honour the gods, or to laugh and be merry one with another, or else to spend their time in their private affairs, or otherwise sometime to attend their pastures, and feeding of their cattell. Whereas Romulus (my Roman lords) hath left you many wars begone, which peradventure you could be contented to spare: yet now to maintain the same, your city had need of a martial king, active, and strong of body. Your people moreover, through long custom, and the great increase they are given unto by feats of arms, desire nought else perhaps but wars: and it is plainly seen, they seek still to grow, and command their neighbours. So that if there were no other consideration in it, yet were it a mere mockery for me, to go to teach a city at this present to serve the gods, to love justice, to hate wars, and to fly violence: when it rather hath need of a conquering captain, than of a peaceable king. These and such other like reasons and persuasions Numa alleged.

discharge himself of the kingdom which they ered him. Howbeit the ambassadors of the mans most humbly besought and prayed him th all instance possible, that he would not be cause of another new stir and commotion ong them, seeing both parts in the city have en their consent and liking to him alone, and ne other to be their king. Moreover, when ambassadors had left him upon this suit, his her, and Marcius his kinsman, began also vately to persuade him, that he should not use so good and godly an offer. And albeit was contented with his present state, and sired to be no richer than he was, nor coveted princely honour nor glory, because he sought ly most famous vertue: yet he must needs nk, that to rule well, was to do the gods good vice, whose will it was to employ the justice y knew in him, and not to suffer it to be e. Refuse not therefore (quoth they) this al dignity, which to a grave and wise man a goodly field, to bring forth many commend- e works and fruits. There you may do noble vice to the gods, to humble the hearts of these rtial people, and to bring them to be holy and gious: for they readily turn, and easily con- m themselves unto the nature of their prince. ey dearly loved Tatius, although he was a nger: they have consecrated a memory to mulus with divine honours, which they make o him at this day. And it may be, that the ple seeing themselves conquerors, will be full ugh of wars: and the Romans being now of spoils and triumphs, will be glad to have a

The royal dignity a goodly field

Numa beginneth his kingdom

gentle prince, and one that loveth justice, that they may thenceforth live in peace, under good and holy laws. And yet if it be otherwise, that their hearts be still full of heat and fury to fight: is it not better to turn this their desire to make wars some other way, when a man hath the bridle in his own hands to do it, and to be a mean in the mean time to join the country, and all the nations of the Sabines in perpetual love and amity, with so mighty and flourishing a city? Besides all these persuasions and reasons, there were many signs also (as they say) which promised him good luck, together with the earnest affection and liking of his own country citizens. Who, so soon as they understood the coming and commission of the ambassadors of Rome, they importunately desired him go to thither, and to accept the offer of the kingdom: that he might more straightly unite and incorporate them together with the Romans. Whereupon, Numa accepted the kingdom. Then after he had done sacrifice to the gods, he set forwards on his journey towards Rome: where the people and Senate went out to meet him, with a wonderful desire to see him. The women at his entry, went blessing of him, and singing of his praises. They did sacrifice for him, in all the temples of the gods. There was neither man nor woman but seemed to be as joyful and glad, as if a new realm, and not a new king, had been come to the city of Rome. Thus was he brought with this open joy, and rejoicing, unto the market-place, where one of the Senators, which at that time was regent, called Spurius Vettius, made them pronounce his

en election: and so by one consent he was osen king, with all the voices of the people. hen were brought unto him the tokens of nour and dignity of the king. But he nself commanded they should be stayed a ile, saying: He must first be confirmed king the gods. Then he took the wise men and iests, with whom he went up into the Capitol, hich that time was yet called Mount Tarpeian. nd there, the chiefest of the soothsayers called *ugurs*, turned him towards the south, having s face covered with a veil, and stood behind m, laying his right hand upon his head, and aying to the gods that it would please them to clare their wills by flying of birds, or some her token concerning this election: and so the othsayer cast his eyes all about, as far as he uld possibly discern. During all this time ere was a marvellous silence in the market-ace, although then an infinite number of people ere assembled there together, attending with eat devotion what the issue of this divination ould be: until there appeared unto them on e right hand, good and lucky birds, which did nfirm the election. Then Numa putting on s regal robes, came down from Mount arpeian, into the market-place, where all the ople received him with wonderful shouts of y, as a man the most holy and best-beloved the gods that they could have chosen. So aving taken the royal seat of the kingdom, his st act was this. That he discharged the guard f the three hundred soldiers, which Romulus ad always about his person, called *Celeres*:

Numa was consecrated by the Augurs

Numa induceth civil and quiet life

saying he would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be king over people, which should mistrust him. His second act was, that he did add to the two priests of Jupiter and Mars, a third, in the honour of Romulus, who was called Flamen Quirinalis. For the ancient Romans also called their priests, instituted in the old time, *Flamines*, by reason of certain little narrow hats which they did wear on their heads, as if they had called them *Pilamines:* for *pilos* in Greek signifieth a hat. And at that time (as they say) there were many more Greek words mingled with the Latin, than there are at this day. For they called the mantles the kings did wear *lænas*. And Juba saith, that it is the very same which the Grecians call *chlænas*, and that the young boy which was a servant in the temple of Jupiter, was called Camillus, as some of the Grecians do yet call the god Mercury, because he is servant of the gods. Now Numa having done these things at his first entry into his kingdom, still to win further favour and good will of the people: began immediately to frame his citizens to a certain civility, being as iron wrought to softness, and brought them from their violent and warlike desires, to temperate and civil manners. For out of doubt, Rome was properly that, which Plato ascribeth to a city full of trouble and pride. For, first it was founded by the most courageous and warlike men of the world, which from all parts were gathered there together, in a most desperate boldness: and afterwards it increased, and grew strong, by arms and continual wars,

ke as piles driven into the ground, which the ore they are rammed in, the further they enter, id stick the faster. Wherefore Numa judging no small nor light enterprise, to pluck down ie haughty stomachs of so fierce and violent a eople, and to frame them unto a sober and uiet life: did seem to work it by means of the ods, with drawing them on thereto by little and ttle, and pacifying of their hot and fierce ourages to fight, with sacrifices, feasts, dancings, id common processions, wherein he celebrated ver himself. In the which together with their evotion, there was mingled now and then astime and pleasure: and sometimes he laid the error and fear of the gods before their eyes, aking them believe that he had seen strange isions, or that he had heard voices, by which ie gods did threaten them with some great oubles and plagues, always to pull down and umble their hearts, unto the fear of the gods. 'his was the cause why they thought afterwards iat he had learned his wisdom of Pythagoras ie philosopher: because the greatest part of the hilosophy of the one, and of the government of ie other, consisted in such ceremonies and ivine studies. They report also that Numa did it on the outward shew and semblance of ythagoras' holiness, as following his intention id example. For Pythagoras as they say, ade an eagle so tame and gentle, that she ould stoop and come down to him by certain ices, as she flew in the air over his head. ind that passing through the assembly of the imes Olympical, he shewed her thigh of gold,

Numa and Pythagoras institutions much alike

Numa and the Muses

and many other pretty feats and deeds they tell of, which seemed to be wonderful, and for which Timon Phliasian hath written these verses of him:

Pythagoras which loved to dwell in dignity,
And had an heart to glory bent, and past in policy,
Much like a man which sought by charming to enchant,
Did use this art, to win men's minds, which unto him did haunt:
His grave and pleasant tongue in sugred speech did flow,
Whereby he drew most minds of men to bent of his own bow.

Even so the feigned fable of Numa, which he so cunningly disguised, was about the love of a goddess, or some Nymph of the mountain: with whom he seemed to have certain secret meetings and talk, whereof we have spoken before. And it is said he much frequented the Muses in the woods. For he would say, he had the most part of his revelations of the Muses, and he taught the Romans to reverence one of them above all the rest, who was called Tacita, as you would say, Lady Silence. It seemeth he invented this, after the example of Pythagoras, who did so specially command and recommend silence unto his scholars. Again, if we consider what Numa ordained concerning images, and the representation of the gods, it is altogether agreeable unto the doctrine of Pythagoras: who thought that God was neither sensible, nor mortal, but invisible, incorruptible, and only intelligible. And Numa did forbid the Romans also to believe, that God had ever form or likeness of beast or man. So that in

those former times, there was in Rome no image of God, either painted or graven: and it was from the beginning a hundred three score and ten years, that they had built temples and chapels unto the gods in Rome, and yet there was neither picture nor image of God within them. For they took it at the first for a sacrilege, to present heavenly things by earthly forms, seeing we cannot possibly any way attain to the knowledge of God, but in mind and understanding. The very sacrifices which Numa ordained, were altogether agreeable, and like unto the manner of serving of the gods, which the Pythagoreans used. For in their sacrifices they spilt not the blood, but they did theirs commonly with a little meal, a little shedding of wine and milk, and with such other light things. Such as affirm that those two men did much company and were familiar together, do lay further proofs and arguments for the same. The first is this: that the Romans did make Pythagoras a free man of the city of Rome, as Epicharmus the comical poet, an ancient writer (and sometimes one of Pythagoras' scholars) saith in a book he wrote and dedicated unto Antenor. The other proof is: That Numa having had four children, called one of them Mamercus, after Pythagoras' son's name, from whom they say is descended, the house of the Æmilians, which is the noblest of the patricians: for the king gave him the surname of Æmilius, because of his sweet tongue and pleasant voice. Furthermore, I my self have heard say many times in Rome, that the Romans having received

Numa forbade images of God

tifices hy so called

an oracle, which commanded them to set up images in their city, to the wisest and valiantest man that ever was among the Grecians: caused two statues of brass to be set up in their market-place, the one of Pythagoras, and the other of Alcibiades. Howbeit to strive about this matter any further, seeing there are so many doubts: me thinketh it were but vain. Moreover, they attribute to Numa, the first erection of the college pontifical: and say he himself was the first Pontifex that ever was. But touching the name of *pontifex*, some will say they were so called, because they chiefly were ordained and appointed for the service of the Almighty: for this word *potens* in the Roman tongue, betokeneth mighty. Others think this name was given to them by their founders, as to exempt persons out of the world: who enjoined them to do all the service and sacrifices to the gods they could possibly, and yet notwithstanding, if they had any other lawful let or impediment thereof, they were not straight condemned for omitting the same. Howbeit the most part do bring out another derivation of this name, wherein me thinks there is little reason. As that they should be called *pontifices*, because they had the charge and maintenance of the bridge. For that which the Grecians call *gephyra*, the Latins call *pontem*: that is, a bridge. And to say truly, the charges of repairing the bridge, belongeth to the bishops: as well as the keeping of the most holy and unchangeable ceremonies. For the Romans thought it not only a thing unlawful, but took it

for a most damnable and wicked act, to destroy or break the bridge of wood, which was only joined together (as they say) with pins of wood, and without any iron at all, by the commandment of an old oracle. But the stone bridge was built long time after the reign of Numa, and in the time of the reign of his nephew Marcius. Now the first and chiefest of these bishops, which they call the Great Pontifex, hath the place, authority, and dignity of the high priest and maister, of their pontifical law: who should be careful, not only about all public sacrifices and ceremonies, but also about such as were private, and to see that no man privately should break the ancient ceremonies, nor bring in any new thing into religion, but rather every man should be taught by him, how, and after what sort he should serve and honour the gods. He also hath the keeping of the holy virgins which they call *Vestales*. For they do give Numa the first foundation and consecrating of them, and the institution also of keeping the immortal fire with honour and reverence, which these virgins have the charge of. Either for that he thought it meet to commit the substance of fire (being pure and clean) unto the custody of clean and uncorrupt maids: or else because he thought the nature of fire (which is barren, and bringeth forth nothing) was fittest, and most proper unto virgins. For in Greece, where they kept continual fire likewise (as in the temple of Apollo in Delphes, and at Athens) the maidens do not keep the same, but old women which are past marriage. And if this fire chance to fail,

The institution of the Vestal nuns

The punishment of the Vestal nuns

Also when they themselves do any fault, they are corrected by the great bishop, who sometimes doth whip them naked (according to the nature and quality of their offence) in a dark place, and under a curten. But she that hath deflowered her virginity, is buried quick by one of the gates of the city, which they call Collina Gate: where within the city there is a mount of earth of a good length, and with the Latins is said to be raised. Under this forced mount, they make a little hollow vawt, and leave a hole open, whereby one may go down; and within it there is set a little bed, a burning lamp, and some victuals to sustain life withal. As a little bread, a little water, a little milk, and a little oil, and that for honour's sake: to the end they would not be thought to famish a body to death, which had been consecrated by the most holy and devout ceremonies of the world. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a litter, which they cover strongly, and close it up with thick leather in such sort, that nobody can so much as hear her voice, and so they carry her thus shut up through the market-place. Every one draweth back, when they see this litter afar off, and do give it place to pass by: and then follow it mourningly with heavy looks, and speak never a word. They do nothing in the city more fearful to behold, than this: neither is there any day wherein the people are more sorrowful, than on such a day. Then after she is come to the place of this vawt, the sergeants straight unloose these fast-bound coverings: and the chief bishop after he hath made certain secret

prayers unto the gods, and lifted his hand up to heaven, taketh out of the litter the condemned Vestal muffled up close, and so putteth her upon the ladder, which conveyeth her down unto the vawt. That done, he withdraweth, and all the priests with him: and when the silly offender is gone down, they straight pluck up the ladder, and cast abundance of earth in at the open hole, so that they fill it up to the very top of the arch. And this is the punishment of the Vestals which defile their virginity. They think also it was Numa that built the round temple of the goddess Vesta, in which is kept the everlasting fire: meaning to represent not the form of the earth, which they say is Vesta, but the figure of the whole world, in the middest whereof (according to the Pythagoreans' opinion) remaineth the proper seat and abiding-place of fire, which they call Vesta, and name it the unity. For they are of opinion, neither that the earth is unmovable, nor yet that it is set in the middest of the world, neither that the heaven goeth about it: but say to the contrary, that the earth hanged in the air about the fire, as about the centre thereof. Neither will they grant, that the earth is one of the first and chiefest parts of the world: as Plato held opinion in that age, that the earth was in another place than in the very middest, and that the centre of the world, as the most honourable place, did appertain to some other of more worthy substance than the earth. Furthermore, the bishops' office was to shew those that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and customs of burial: whom Numa taught not

The temple of Vesta

The manner of burial and mourning

to believe that there was any corruption or dishonesty in burials, but rather it was to worship and honour the gods of the earth, with usual and honourable ceremonies, as those which after their death receive the chiefest service of us that they can. But above all other in burials, they did specially honour the goddess called Libitina, that is said, the chief governor and preserver of the rites of the dead; or be it Proserpina, or Venus, as the most learned men among the Romans do judge, who not without cause do attribute the order of the beginning and end of man's life, to one self god, and power divine. Numa ordained also, how long time every body should mourn in black. And for a child from three years to ten years of age, that died: he ordained they should mourn no more moneths than it had lived years, and not to add a day more. For he commanded, that the longest time of mourning should be but ten moneths only, and so long time at the least he willed women should remain widows, after the decease of their husbands: or else she that would marry within that time, was bound by his order to sacrifice a whole bullock. Numa also erected many other orders of priests: of two sorts whereof I will only make mention. The one shall be the order of the Salii, and the other of the Fetiales: for me thinks, both the one and the other do manifestly shew the great holiness, and singular devotion which he had in him. The Fetiales are properly those, which the Grecians call Eirenophylaces, as who would say, peace-keepers. And in my

lgement, they had their right name ac- The
rding to their office, because they did Fetiales
ɔify quarrels with reason by way of order,
d did not suffer (as much as in them lay)
ıt any matter should be tried by violence,
til they were past all hope of any peace.
ɔr the Grecians call it properly *eirene*, when
th parties agree, and decide their controversy
th reason, and not with sword. Even so those
ıich the Romans called the Fetiales, went
ıny times in person to those that did the
ɔmans injury, and sought to persuade them
th good reason, to keep promise with the
ɔmans, and to offer them no wrong. But if
ey would not yield to reason, whom they
ught to persuade: then they called the gods
the witness thereof, and prayed them, that if
ey did not most earnestly incense the Romans,
pursue that most justly appertained unto their
ht, that all evils and mischiefs of the wars
ght fall upon themselves, and on their country.
his done, they did threaten open wars against
ch enemies. And if the Fetiales would not
nsent to open wars, and did happen to speak
ainst them: it was not lawful in that case,
ither for private person, nor for the king him-
lf to make any wars. But like a just prince,
must have leave by their sufferance to make
ıe wars. Then did he consider, and consult,
y what means he might best procure and pro-
ɔcute the same. Concerning this matter, they
dge that the ill-hap which came to the
omans, when the city of Rome was taken and
ıcked by the Gauls, chanced justly for break-

The institution of the Salii

ing of this holy institution. For at that time, the barbarous people besieged the city of the Clusinians: and Fabius Ambustus was sent ambassador unto them, to see if he could make peace between them. The barbarous people gave him an ill answer: whereupon Fabius thinking his embassy had been ended, and being somewhat hot, and rash in defence of the Clusinians, gave defiance to the valiantest Gaul there, to fight with him man to man. Fortune favoured him in this challenge: for he slew the Gaul, and stripped him in the field. The Gauls seeing their man slain, sent immediately an herald to Rome, to accuse Fabius, how against all right and reason, he began wars with them, without any open proclamation made before. The Fetiales being then consulted with thereabout, did declare, he ought to be delivered into the hands of the Gauls, as one that had broken the law of arms, and had deserved it: but he made friends to the people which favoured him very much, and by their means escaped his delivery and punishment. Nevertheless, the Gauls within short time after, came before Rome with all their power: which they took, sacked, and burnt every whit, saving the Capitol, as we have written more amply in the life of Camillus. Now concerning the priests that were called Salii, they say he did institute them upon this occasion. In the eight yeare of his reign, there came a pestilent disease through all Italy, and at the length it crept also into Rome. Whereat every man being greatly affraid and discouraged, they say there fell from heaven a target of

opper, which lighted between the hands of A target from heaven
Numa. They tell here of a wonderful tale,
which the king himself affirmed he heard, of
he nymph Egeria, and the Muses. To wit,
hat this target was sent from heaven, for the
ealth and preservation of the city: and there-
ore he should keep it carefully, and cause
leven other to be cast and made, all like unto
he same in fashion and greatness, to the end,
hat if any would enterprise to steal it, he
hould not tell which of them to take for the
ight target. Moreover, he said, he was com-
nanded to consecrate the place to the Muses
in the which he did oftentimes company with
hem), and also the fields which were near
hereabouts: and likewise to give the fountain
hat sprang in that place, unto the Vestals pro-
essed, that every day they might draw water at
hat well, to wash the sanctuary of their temple.
The success hereof proved his words true, for
he sickness ceased incontinently. So he assem-
led all the chief craftsmen then in Rome, to
rove which of them would take upon him to
nake one like unto that. Every man despaired
o perform it. Howbeit one called Veturius
Mamurius (the excellentest workman that was
n those days) did make them all so suit-like,
hat Numa himself did not know the first target,
when they were all laid together. So he
rdained these priests Salii, to have the custody
f these targets, to see them safe kept. They
were called Salii, not after the name of Salius
born in Samothracia, or in Mantinea, as some
have untruly alleged, who first invented the

Ancilia whereof so called

manner of dancing all armed: but they were so called, of their fashion and manner of dancing and leaping. For in the moneth of March, they go skipping and leaping up and down the city, with those targets on their arms, apparelled in red cassocks without sleeves, and girded about with broad leather sword girdles, studded with copper, having helmets of copper on their heads, and striking upon their targets with short daggers, which they carry in their hands. Moreover, all their dancing consisteth in moving of their feet: for they handle them finely, making turns above ground and beneath, with a sudden measure, and a marvellous force of agility. They call these targets Ancilia, because of their fashion, which is not altogether compass: for they are not all round as other common targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the ends bowing in many folds, and one so near another, that altogether they come to a certain wreathed form, which the Grecians call *ancylon*. Or else they are so called, because *ancon* signifieth an elbow, upon which they carry them. All these derivations are written in the history of Juba, who in any case will have this word Ancilia to be drawn out of the Greek tongue. And it may be also they were so called, because the first came from above, which the Grecians call *anecathen*: or else for healing the sick, which is called *acesis*. Or else for ceasing of the dryness, which in Greek is called *auchmôn lysis*. Or for the ending of all diseases and evils, for which cause the Athenians call Castor and Pollux, *anaces*: if they lust to give

his word his derivation from the Greek tongue. Numa's opinion of divine worship
low the reward which Mamurius the goldsmith
ad for the making of these targets was, that
ne Salii unto this day do make mention of him
n their song, which they sing going through the
ity, and dancing of their dance all armed.
Howbeit some think they say not Veturius
Mamurius, but *veterem memoriam*, ancient memory.
But Numa after he had ordained and instituted
hese orders of priests, built his palace near unto
he temple of Vesta, which holdeth his name
Regia at this day, to say, the King's palace.
n which he remained most part of his life,
udying either to sacrifice to the gods, or to
ach the priests what they should do, or how
ith them he should best contemplate all
eavenly things. It is true that he had another
ouse on the hill, which they call at this day,
uirinal, the place whereof is yet to be seen.
ut in all these sacrifices, ceremonies, and pro-
ssions of the priests, there were always
ushers that went before, crying to the people,
eep silence, and tend upon divine service. For
ey say the Pythagoreans thought it good, that
en should not worship the gods, nor make
ayers to them in passing by, or doing any
her thing: but they thought it meet, that men
ould of purpose go out of their houses, to
rve and pray unto them. Even so King
uma thought it not meet, that his subjects
ould come to see and hear divine service
gligently, as it were for a fashion, and only to
rid of it, as heeding another thing: but he
ould have them set aside all other business, and

The similitude of Numa and Pythagoras' precepts

employ their thoughts and hearts only upon the principal service of religion, and devotion towards the gods. So that during service time, he would not have heard any noise, any knocking, bouncing, or any clapping, as they commonly hear in all artificers' shops of occupation, whereof at this day yet they see some signs and tokens remaining in their sacrifices at Rome. For all the time the Augur beholdeth the flying of the birds, or that he is doing any sacrifice, the vergers cry aloud: *hoc age*, which meaneth, tend this. And it is a warning to those that are present, to call their wits home, and to think on that which is in hand. Also there are many of his orders like the precepts of the Pythagorans. For as they did warn men, not to sit upon a little bushel, not to cut fire with a sword, not to look behind them when they go abroad: to sacrifice to the celestial gods in odd number, and to the gods of the earth in an even number, of which precepts they would not have the common people to have any knowledge or understanding. Even so there are many institutions of Numa, the reasons whereof are hidden and kept secret: as not to offer wine to the gods, of the vine never cut, and not to sacrifice unto them without meal: and to turn a turn about when they do reverence to the gods, and to sit down after they have worshipped them. And as touching the two first ordinances, it seemeth that by them he did recommend clemency and humanity, as being a part of the devotion towards the gods. But as for the turning which he willeth them to make, that

worship the gods: they say it presenteth the turning which the element maketh by his moving. But me thinketh it should rather come of this: for that the temples being set to the east, he that worshippeth entring into the temple, sheweth his back to the west, and for this cause turneth towards that part, and afterwards returneth again towards God: doing the whole turn, and ending the consummation of his prayer, by this double adoration which he maketh before and behind. Unless peradventure that he meant secretly to signify, and give them to understand by this turning and changing of their look, that which the Egyptians figured by their wheels: in shewing thereby, that these worldly things were never constant and in one state. And therefore, that we should take it thankfully, and patiently bear it, in what sort soever it pleased God to change or alter our life. And where he commanded that they should sit after they had worshipped God: they said it was a token of a good hope unto them that prayed, that their prayers should be exalted, and that their goods should remain safe, and stick by them. Other say, that this ease and sitting, is a separating them from doing: and therefore he would they should sit in the temples of the gods, to shew they had done that which they had in hand before, to the end to take of the gods the beginning of another. And it may well be also, that it was referred to the thing we spake of a little before: That Numa would accustom his people, not to serve the gods, nor to speak to them at all, as they passed by, or did any other

The cause why they turn a turn about

By what means Numa made the Romans quiet and gentle

thing, or were in haste: but would have them pray unto the gods when they had time and leisure, and all other business at that time set apart. By this good instruction and training them unto religion, the city of Rome by little and little came to be so tractable, and had the great power of King Numa in such admiration: that they took all to be as true as the gospel that he spake, though it had no more likelihood of truth, than tales devised of pleasure. Furthermore, they thought nothing incredible, or impossible to him, if he would have it. And for proof hereof, there goeth a tale of him, that he having bidden a great company of the citizens of Rome to come and sup with him, caused them to be served with plain gross meat, and in very poor and homely vessel. And when they were set, and began to fall to their meat, he cast out words sodainly unto them, how the goddess with whom he accompanied, was come to see him even at that instant, and that sodainly the hall was richly furnished, and the tables covered with all sorts of excellent fine and delicate meats. Howbeit thus far passed all the vanity of lying, which is found written of him, about his speaking with Jupiter. The hill Aventine was not at that time inhabited, nor enclosed within the walls of Rome, but was full of springs and shadowed groves, whither commonly repaired to solace themselves, the two gods, Picus and Faunus, which otherwise might be thought two satyrs, or of the race of the Titanians: saving it is said, that they went through all Italy, doing the like miracles and wonders in physic, charms and art

magic, which they report of those the Grecians call Idæ Dactylans. There they say that Numa took them both, having put into the spring both wine and honey, where they used to drink. When they saw that they were taken, they transformed themselves into divers forms, disguising and disfiguring their natural shape, into many terrible and fearful sights to behold. Nevertheless in the end, perceiving they were so fast, as to escape there was no reckoning: they revealed unto him many things to come, and taught him the purifying against lightning and thunder, which they make yet at this day with onions, hair, and pilchers. Other say, he was not taught that by them, but that they fetched Jupiter out of heaven, with their conjuring and magic: whereat Jupiter being offended, answered in choler, that he should make it with heads. But Numa added straight, of onions: Jupiter replied, of men. Then Numa asked him again, to take a little away the cruelty of the commandment: What, hairs? Jupiter answered, quick hairs. And Numa put-to pilchers also. And it is reported that this was the goddess Egeria, that taught Numa this subtilty. This done, Jupiter returned appeased: by reason whereof the place was called Ilicium. For *ileos* in the Greek tongue signifieth appeased, and favourable: and this purifying was afterwards made in that sort. These tales not only vain, but full of mockery also, do shew us yet plainly the zeal and devotion men had in those times towards the gods: unto which Numa through custom had won them. And as for Numa himself, they say that he so

Numa and Jupiter cross swords

Numa maketh bounds of the territory of Rome

firmly put all his hope and confidence in the help of the gods; that one day when he was told his enemies were in arms against him, he did but laugh at it, and answered: And I do sacrifice. It is he (as some say) that first built a temple to Faith and Term: and which made the Romans understand, that the most holy and greatest oath they could make, was to swear by their faith, which they keep yet at this day. But Term, which signifieth bounds, is the god of confines, or borders: unto whom they do sacrifice, both publickly and privately, upon the limits of inheritances, and now they sacrifice unto him live beasts. Howbeit in old time they did sacrifice unto him without any blood, through the wise institution of Numa: who declared and preached unto them, that this God of bounds was sincere, and upright, without blood or murther, as he that is a witness of justice, and a keeper of peace. It was he, which in my opinion, did first limit out the bounds of the territory of Rome which Romulus would never do, for fear lest in bounding out his own, he should confess that which he occupied of other men's. For bounding and measuring, to him that will keep it justly: is a bond that bridleth power and desire. But to him that forceth not to keep it: it is a proof to shew his injustice. To say truly, the territory of Rome had no great bounds at the first beginning, and Romulus had got by conquest the greatest part of it, and Numa did wholly divide it unto the needy inhabitants to relieve them, and to bring them out of poverty: (which carrieth men headlong into mischief, and dis-

courageth them to labour) to the end that plowing up the said land, they should also plow up the weeds of their own barrenness, to become civil and gentle. For there is no exercise nor occupation in the world, which so sodainly bringeth a man to love and desire quietness, as doth husbandry and tillage: and yet to defend a man's own, there is in it courage and hardiness to fight. But greedy desire, violently to take from others, and unjustly to occupy that is none of theirs, is never in right husbandmen. And therefore Numa having brought in husbandry amongst his subjects, as a medicine and mean to make them love quietness: was desirous to inure them to this trade of life, the rather to make them humble and gentle of condition, than to increase them in riches. He divided all the territory of Rome into certain parts which he called *pagi:* as much to say, as villages. And in every one of them he ordained controllers and visitors, which should survey all about: and he himself sometimes went abroad in person, conjecturing by their labour the manners and nature of every man. Such as he found diligent, he advanced them unto honour, and gave them countenance and authority: other which he saw slothful and negligent, by rebuking and reproving of them, he made them amend. But amongst all his ordinances which he made, one above all the rest carried the praise: and that was, that he divided his people into sundry occupations. For the city of Rome seemed yet to be made of two nations, as we have said before: and to speak more properly, it was

Numa advanceth tillage

Numa took away the factions

made of two tribes. So that it could not, or would not for anything be made one: being altogether impossible to take away all factions, and to make there should be no quarrels nor contentions between both parts. Wherefore he considered, that when one will mingle two bodies or simples together, which for their hardness and contrary natures cannot well suffer mixture: then he breaks and beats them together, as small as may be. For, so being brought into a smaller and lesser powder, they would incorporate and agree the better. Even so he thought it was best to divide the people also into many small parts: by means whereof they should be put into many parties, which would more easily take away the first and the greatest part, when it should be divided and separated thus into sundry sorts. And this division he made by arts and occupations: as minstrels, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, shoemakers, tawers, tanners, bell-founders, and pot-makers, and so forth through other crafts and occupations. So that he brought everyone of these into one body, and company by itself: and ordained unto every particular mystery or craft, their feasts, assemblies, and services, which they should make unto the gods, according to the dignity and worthiness of every occupation. And by this means, he first took away all faction: that neither side said, nor thought any more, those are Sabines, these are Romans, these are of Tatius, these are of Romulus. Insomuch as this division was an incorporating, and an uniting of the whole together. Among other his ordinances, they did much

commend his reforming of the law, that gave liberty unto fathers to sell their children. For he did except children already married, so they were married with their father's consent and good will: judging it to be too cruel and over hard a thing, that a woman who thought she had married a free man should find her self to be the wife of a bondman. He began also to mend a little the calendar, not so exactly as he should have done, nor yet altogether ignorantly. For during the reign of Romulus, they used the moneths confusedly, without any order or reason, making some of them twenty days and less, and others thirty-five days and more, without knowing the difference between the course of the sun and the moon: and only they observed this rule, that there was three hundred and sixty days in the year. But Numa considering the inequality stood upon eleven days, for that the twelve revolutions of the moon are run in three hundred and fifty-four days, and the revolution of the sun, in three hundred and sixty-five days, he doubled the eleven days, whereof he made a moneth: which he placed from two years to two years, after the moneth of February, and the Romans called this moneth put between, Mercidinus, which had twenty-two days. And this is the correction that Numa made, which since hath had a far better amendment. He did also change the order of the moneths. For March which before was the first, he made it now the third: and January the first, which under Romulus was the eleventh, and February the twelfth and last. Yet many are of opinion, that Numa

The ordinance of the moneths

The year diversely counted

added these two, January and February. For the Romans at the beginning had but ten moneths in the year: as some of the barbarous people make but three moneths for their year. And the Arcadians amongst the Grecians have but four moneths for their year. The Acarnanians have six to the year. And the Egyptians had first but one moneth to their year: and afterwards they made four moneths for their year. And this is the cause why they seem (albeit they inhabit in a new country) to be nevertheless the ancientest people of the world: for that in their Chronicles they reckon up such infinite number of years, as those which count the moneths for years. And to prove this true, that the Romans at the beginning had but ten moneths in the year, and not twelve, it is easily to be judged by the name of the last, which they call at this day December. And that the moneth of March was also the first, may be conjectured by this: for the fifth moneth after that, is yet called *Quintilis:* the sixt *Sextilis*, and so the other in order following the numbers. For if January and February had then been the first, of necessity the moneth of July, which they call Quintilis, must have been named September: considering also that it is very likely, that the moneth which Romulus had dedicated unto Mars, was also by him ordained to be the first. The second was April: so called of the name Aphrodite, that is to say Venus, unto whom they make open sacrifice in this moneth. And on the first day of the same, women do wash themselves, having a garland of myrtle upon

their heads. Howbeit some other say, that it was not called after the name of Aphrodite, but it was only called *Aprilis*, because then is the chiefest force and strength of the spring, at which season the earth doth open, and the seeds of plants and herbs begin to bud and show forth, which the word itself doth signify. The moneth following next after that, is called May: after the name of Maia, the mother of Mercury, unto whom the moneth is consecrated. The moneth of June is so called also, because of the quality of that season, which is as the youth of the year. Although some will say, that the moneth of May was named of this word *maiores*, which signifieth as much as the elders: and the moneth of June, of *juniores*, which signifieth the younger men. All the other following, were named in old time by the numbers according to their order, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. But *Quintilis*, was after called Julius, of the name of Julius Cæsar, who slew Pompeius. And *Sextilis*, was named *Augustus*, of Octavius Cæsar his successor in the empire, who was also surnamed Augustus. It is true also that Domitian would they should call the two moneths following (which are September and October) the one *Gemanicus*, and the other *Domitianus*. But that held not long: for so soon as Domitian was killed, the moneths recovered their ancient names again. The two last moneths only, have ever continued their names, without changing or altering. But of the two which Numa added, or at the least translated: the moneth of February doth signify as much as purging, or at the

Names of the months

At what time the temple of Janus is shut

least the derivation of the word soundeth near it. In this moneth, they do sacrifice of plants, and do celebrate the feast of the Lupercals, in which there are many things agreeable, and like to the sacrifices made for purification. And the first, which is January, was called after the name of Janus. Wherefore me thinks that Numa took away the moneth of March from the first place, and gave it unto January: because he would have peace preferred before war, and civil things before martial. For this Janus (were he king, or demigod) in the former age was counted very civil and politick. For he changed the life of men, which before his time was rude, cruel, and wild: and brought it to be honest, gentle, and civil. For this cause they do paint his image at this day with two faces, the one before, and the other behind, for thus changing the lives of men. And there is in Rome a temple dedicated unto him, which hath two doors, that be called the doors of war: for the custom is to open them, when the Romans have any wars in any place, and to shut them when they be at peace. To have them shut, it was a rare thing to see, and happened very seldom: by reason of the greatness of their empire, which of all sides was environed with barbarous nations, whom they were compelled to keep under with force of arms. Notwithstanding it was once shut up in the time of Augustus, after he had slain Antony: and once before also in the year when Marcus Atilius and Titus Manlius were consuls. But that continued not long, for it was opened again incon-

tinently, by reason of wars that came upon them soon after. Howbeit during the reign of Numa, it was never one day opened, but remained shut continually by the space of three and forty years together. For all occasions of wars, were then utterly dead and forgotten: because at Rome the people were not only through the example of justice, clemency, and the goodness of the king brought to be quiet, and to love peace: but in the cities thereabouts, there began a marvellous change of manners and alteration of life, as if some gentle air had breathed on them, by some gracious and healthful wind, blown from Rome to refresh them. And thereby bred in men's minds such a hearty desire to live in peace, to till the ground, to bring up their children, and to serve the gods truly: that almost through all Italy, there was nothing but feasts, plays, sacrifices, and bankets. The people did traffick and frequent together, without fear or danger, and visited one another, making great cheer: as if out of the springing fountain of Numa's wisdom many pretty brooks and streams of good and honest life had run over all Italy, and had watered it: and that the mildness of his wisdom had from hand to hand been dispersed through the whole world. Insomuch, as the over excessive speeches the poets accustomably do use, were not sufficient enough to express the peaceable reign of that time. **The reign of peace**

There spiders weave their cobwebs and day night
In harnesses, which wont to serve for war:
There cancred rust doth fret the steel full bright
Of trenchant blades, well whet in many a jar

The felicity of a common weal

> There mighty spears, for lack of use, are eaten
> With rotten wormes: and in that country there,
> The braying tromp doth never seem to threaten
> Their quiet ears with blasts of bloody fear.
> There in that land, no drowsy sleep is broken
> With hot alarms, which terrors do betoken.

For during all King Numa's reign, it was never heard that ever there were any wars, civil dissension, or innovation of government attempted against him, nor yet any secret enmity or malice borne him, neither any conspiracy once thought on to reign in his place. And whether it was for fear of displeasing the gods (which visibly seemed to take him into their protection) or for the reverent regard they had unto his vertue, or for his prosperous and good success all the time he reigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he sought to keep men still pure, and honest, from all wickedness, and laid most open before the eyes of the whole world, a very example of that which Plato long time after did affirm, and say, concerning true government: which was, That the only mean of true quietness, and remedy from all evil (which ever troubleth men) was: when by some divine ordinance from above there meeteth in one person, the right majesty of a king, and the mind of a wise philosopher, to make vertue governess and ruler over vice. For indeed happy is such a wise man, and more happy are they, which may hear the grave counsel, and good lessons of such a mouth. And there (me thinks) needeth no force, no compulsion, no threats, nor extremity to bridle the people. For men seeing the true image of

vertue in their visible prince, and in the example of his life, do willingly grow to be wise, and of themselves do fall into love, liking, and friendship together, and do use all temperance, just dealing, and good order one toward another, leading their life without offence, and with the commendation of other: which is the chief point of felicity, and the most happy good that can light unto men. And he by nature is best worthy to be a king, who through his wisdom and vertue, can graft in men's manners such a good disposition: and this, Numa above all other, seemed best to know and understand. Furthermore, touching his wives and children, there are great contrarieties among the historiographers. For some of them say, he never married other wife than Tatia, and that he never had any children, but one only daughter, and she was called Pompilia. Other write to the contrary, that he had four sons, Pompo, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus: of everyone of the which (by succession from the father to the son) have descended the noblest races, and most ancient houses of the Romans. As the house of the Pomponians, of Pompo: the house of the Pinarians, of Pinus: the house of the Calpurnians, of Calpus: and the house of the Mamercians, of Mamercus. All which families by reason of their progenitor have kept the surname of Reges, Kings. There are three other writers, which do reprove the two first: saying that they did write to gratify the families, making them falsely to descend of the noble race of King Numa. Moreover it is

Numa's wives and posterity

Numa's books discovered

Pythagoras, I easily pardon those which maintain their opinion, that Numa and Pythagoras were familiarly acquainted and conversant together. Valerius Antias the historian writeth, there were twelve books written concerning the office of priests, and twelve others containing the philosophy of the Grecians. And that four hundred years after (in the same year when Publius Cornelius, and Martius Bæbius were consuls) there fell a great rage of waters and rain, which opened the earth, and discovered these coffins: and the lids and covers thereof being carried away, they found the one altogether void, having no manner of likelihood, or token of a body that had layen in it: and in the other they found these books, which were delivered unto one named Petilius (at that time Prætor) who had the charge to read them over, and to make the report of them. But he having perused them over, declared to the Senate, that he thought it not convenient the matters contained in them should be published unto the simple people: and for that cause they were carried into the market-place, and there were openly burnt. Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth unto all good and just men, that they are far more praised and esteemed after their death, than before: because that envy doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithstanding, the misfortunes which chanced afterwards unto the five kings which reigned at Rome after Numa, have made his honour shine, with much more noble glory than before. For the last of them

was driven out of his kingdom, and died in exile, after he was very old. And of the other four, none of them died their natural death, but three of them were killed by treason. And Tullus Hostilius which reigned after Numa, deriding and contemning the most part of his good and holy institutions, and chiefly his devotion towards the gods, as a thing which made men lowly and faint-hearted: did as soon as ever he came to be king, turn all his subjects' hearts to the wars. But this mad humour of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a strange and most grievous disease that followed him, which brought him to change his mind, and did far otherwise turn his contempt of religion, into an over-fearful superstition, which did not yet resemble the true religion and devotion of Numa: and besides, he infected others with his contagious error, through the inconvenience which happened unto him at his death. For he was stricken and burnt with lightning.

Character of Tullus Hostilius

THE COMPARISON OF LYCURGUS WITH NUMA

Their virtues alike, their deeds diverse

THUS having written the lives of Lycurgus and Numa, the matter requireth, though it be somewhat hard to do, that we comparing the one with the other, should set out the difference between them. For in those things wherein they were like of condition, their deeds do shew it sufficiently. As in their temperance, their devotion to the gods, their wisdom in governing, and their discreet handling of their people, by making them believe that the gods had revealed the laws unto them, which they established. And now to come unto their qualities, which are diversely, and severally commended in either of them. Their first quality is, that Numa accepted the kingdom, and Lycurgus gave it up. The one received it, not seeking for it: and the other having it in his hands did restore it again. The one being a stranger and a private man was by strangers elected and chosen their lord and king. The other being in possession a king made himself again a private person. Sure it is a goodly thing to obtain a realm by justice: but it is a goodlier thing to esteem justice above a realm. Vertue brought the one to be in such reputation, that he was judged worthy to be chosen a king: and vertue bred so noble a mind in the other, that he esteemed not to be

king. Their second quality is, that like as in an instrument of music, the one of them did tune and wrest up the slack strings which were in Sparta: so the other slackened, and set them lower, which were too high mounted in Rome. Wherein Lycurgus' difficulty was the greater. For he did not persuade his citizens, to pluck off their armour and curates, nor to lay by their swords: but only to leave their gold and silver, to forsake their soft beds, their fine wrought tables, and other curious rich furniture, and not to leave off the travail of wars, to give themselves only unto feasts, sacrifices, and plays. But to the contrary, to give up banquetting and feasting, and continually to take pains in the wars, yielding their bodies to all kind of pains. By which means, the one for the love and reverence they did bear him, easily persuaded all that he would: and the other, by putting himself in danger, and being hurt also, obtained not without great travail and adventure, the end of his intended purpose and desire. Numa his muse was so gentle, loving, and curteous, that the manners of his citizens, which before were furious and violent, were now so tractable and civil, that he taught them to love peace and justice. And to the contrary, if they will compel me to number amongst the laws and ordinances of Lycurgus, that which we have written touching the Helotes, which was a barbarous cruel thing: I must of force confess that Numa was much wiser, more gentle, and civil in his laws, considering that even unto those which indeed were born slaves, he gave some

What things were hard to Lycurgus

Diverse causes of the diversity of institutions

little taste of honour, and sweetness of liberty, having ordained, that in the feasts of Saturn, they should sit down at meat at their maister's own table. Some hold opinion, that this custom was brought in by King Numa: who willed that those, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruit, should have some pleasure thereof to make good cheer with the first-fruits of the same. Other imagine, that it is yet a token and remembrance of the equality which was amongst men in the world in Saturn's time, when there was neither maister nor servant, but all men were alike equal, as brethren or kinsmen. To conclude, it seemeth either of them took a direct course, thought best to themselves, to frame their people unto temperance, and to be contented with their own. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loved war best, and the other justice: unless it were that men would say, that for the diversity of the nature or custom of their people (which were almost contrary in manners) they were both compelled to use also contrary and diverse means from other. For it was not of a faint heart, that Numa took from his people the use of arms, and desire to be in wars: but it was to the end they should not do any wrong to others. Neither did Lycurgus also study to make his people soldiers and warlike, to hurt others: but for fear rather that others should hurt them. And so, to cut off the excess in the one, and to supply the defect of the other: they were both enforced to bring in a strange manner of government. Furthermore, touching

their several kind of government, and dividing of their people into states and companies: that of Numa was marvellous mean and base, and framed to the liking of the meanest people, making a body of a city, and a people compounded together of all sorts, as goldsmiths, minstrels, founders, shoemakers, and of all sorts of craftsmen and occupations together. But that of Lycurgus, was directly contrary: for his was more severe and tyrannical, in governing of the nobility, casting all crafts and base occupations upon bondsmen and strangers, and putting into the hands of his citizens the shield and lance, suffering them to exercise no other art or science, but the art and discipline of wars, as the true ministers of Mars: which all their lifetime never knew other science, but only learned to obey their captains, and to command their enemies. For to have any occupation, to buy and sell, or to traffic, free men were expressly forbidden: because they should wholly and absolutely be free. And all sciences to get money was lawful for slaves, and the Helots: being counted for as vile an occupation, as to dress meat, and to be a scullion of a kitchen. Numa put not this difference amongst his people, but only took away covetous desire to be rich by wars: but otherwise, he did not forbid them to get goods by any other lawful means, neither took any regard to bring all to equality, and to be alike wealthy, but suffered every man to get what he could, taking no order to prevent poverty, which crept in, and spread far in his city. Which he should have looked unto at the

Comparison the two polities

Touching marriages and children

beginning, at that time when there was not too great an unequality amongst them, and that his citizens for substance were in manner equal one with another: for then was the time when he should have made head against avarice, to have stopped the mischiefs and inconveniences, which fell out afterwards, and they were not little. For that only was the fountain and root of the most part of the greatest evils and mischiefs, which happened afterwards in Rome. And as touching the division of goods: neither ought Lycurgus to be blamed for doing it, nor Numa for that he did it not. For this equality to the one, was a ground and foundation of his commonwealth, which he afterwards instituted: and to the other, it could not be. For this division being made not long before the time of his predecessor, there was no great need to change the first, the which (as it is likely) remained yet in full perfection. As touching marriages, and their children to be in common, both the one and the other wisely sought to take away all occasion of jealousy: but yet they took not both one course. For the Roman husband, having children enough to his contentation: if another that lacked children came unto him, to pray him to lend him his wife, he might grant her unto him, and it was in him to give her altogether, or to lend her for a time, and to take her afterwards again. But the Laconian keeping his wife in his house, and the marriage remaining whole and unbroken, might let out his wife to any man that would require her to have children by her: nay furthermore, many (as we

have told you before) did themselves entreat men, by whom they thought to have a trim brood of children, and laid them with their wives. What difference, I pray you, was between these two customs? saving that the custom of the Laconians shewed, that the husbands were not angry, nor grieved with their wives for those things, which for sorrow and jealousy doth rent the hearts of most married men in the world. And that of the Romans was a simplicity somewhat more shamefast, which to cover it, was shadowed yet with the cloke of matrimony, and contract of marriage: confessing that to use wife and children by halves together, was a thing most intolerable for him. Furthermore, the keeping of maidens to be married by Numa's order, was much straighter and more honourable for womanhood: and Lycurgus' order having too much scope and liberty, gave poets occasion to speak, and to give them surnames not very honest. As Ibycus called them *phænomerides:* to say, thigh-shewers: and *andromanes:* to say, manhood. And Euripides saith also of them.

Numa's order for maidens the better

Good nut-brown girls which left their father's house at large,
And sought for young men's company, and took their ware in charge:
And shewed their thighs all bare, the tailor did them wrong,
On each side open were their coats, the slits were all too long.

And indeed to say truly, the sides of their petticoats were not sewed beneath: so that as they went, they shewed their thighs naked and

The Roman women very modest

bare. The which Sophocles doth easily declare by these verses:

The song which you shall sing, shall be the sonnet said
By Hermony, lusty lass, that strong and sturdy maid:
Which truss'd her petticoat about her middle short,
And set to shew her naked hips in frank and friendly sort

And therefore it is said, the Lacon wives were bold, manly, and stout against their husbands, namely the first. For they were wholly mistresses in the house, and abroad: yea they had law on their side also, to utter their minds frankly concerning the chiefest matters. But Numa ever reserved the honour and dignity unto the women, which was left them by Romulus in his time, when their husbands, after they had taken them away perforce, disposed themselves to use them as gently as possibly they could: nevertheless, he added otherwise thereto, great honesty, and took away all curiosity from them, and taught them sobriety, and did inure them to speak little. For he did utterly forbid them wine, and did prohibit them to speak, although it were for things necessary, unless it were in the presence of their husbands. In so much as it is reported, that a woman chancing one day to plead her cause in person, openly before the judges: the Senate hearing of it, did send immediately unto the oracle of Apollo, to know what that did prognosticate to the city. And therefore Numa thought the memory of the naughty women, would much commend the great humility, gentleness, and obedience

f the good. For like as our Grecian istoriographers do note those which were the rst that killed any of their citizens, or ave fought with their brethren, or have illed their fathers or mothers: even so the Romans do note that Spurius Carvilius was he first that forsook his wife, two hundred nd thirty years after the first foundation of Rome, which was never done by any before. And that the wife of one Pinarius, called Thalæa, was the first which ever brawled or uarrelled with her mother-in-law called Getania, in the time when Tarquin surnamed he Proud reigned: so well and honestly were he orders of Numa devised concerning marriage. Moreover, the age and time of marrying of naids, which both the one and the other rdained, doth agree with the rest of their ducation. For Lycurgus would not that they hould be married, till they were of good years, nd women grown: to the end that they know- ng the company of man at such time as nature equireth, it should be a beginning of their leasure and love, and not of grief and hate, when she should be compelled unto it before me agreeable by nature, and because their odies also should be more strong and able to ear children, and to endure the mother's pain- il throes and travail in child-bearing, consider- ng they are married to no other end, but to ear children. But the Romans to the contrary, o marry them at twelve years of age and nder: saying, that by this means their bodies nd manners be wholly theirs, which do marry

The age for marriage

How much education and discipline is worth

them, being assured that nobody else could touch them. By this reason it is manifest, that the one is more natural, to make them strong to bear children: and the other more moral, to give them the form and manner of conditions, which a man would have them to keep all their lifetime. Moreover, touching orders for education of children, that they should be brought up, instructed, and taught under the self same maisters and governors, which should have an eye to make them drink, eat, play, and exercise themselves honestly, and orderly together: Numa made no more provision for the same, than the least maker of laws that ever was, and nothing in comparison of Lycurgus. For Numa left the parents at liberty, to use their discretion (according unto their covetousness or necessity), to cause their children to be brought up as they thought good: whether they would put them to be labourers, carpenters, founders, or minstrels. As if they should not frame the manners of children, and fashion them from their cradle all to one end: but should be as it were like passengers in one ship, which being there, some for one business, other for another purpose, but all to diverse ends, do never meddle one with another, but in a rough storm or tempest, when every man is affraid of his own life. For otherwise, no man careth but for himself. And other makers of laws also, are to be borne withal, if anything hath scaped them through ignorance, or sometime through lack of sufficient power and authority. But a wise philosopher, having received a realm of people newly

hered together, which did contrary him in hing: whereto should he most ply his study endeavour, but to cause children to be well ught up, and to make young men exercise mselves, to the end they should not differ in nners, nor that they should be troublesome, their diverse manner of bringing up, but that y should all agree together, for that they had n trained from their childhood unto one self le, and fashioned under one self pattern of tue? That good education, besides other nmodities, did also serve to preserve Lycurgus' s. For the fear of their oath which they made, had been of small effect if he had through institution, and education (as it re) dyed in wool the manners of children, had not made them from their nurses' asts in manner, suck the juice and love of his s and civil ordinances. And this was of h force, that for the space of five hundred rs and more, Lycurgus' chief laws and ordi- ces remained in full perfection, as a deep dded die, which went to the bottom, and rced into the tender wool. Contrariwise, t which was Numa's chief end and purpose, continue Rome in peace and amity, died by- -bye with him. For he was no sooner dead, they opened both the gates of the temple of us, which he so carefully had kept shut all reign, as if in deed he had kept in wars re, under lock and key, and they filled all y with murther and blood: and this his ly, holy, and just government which his m enjoyed all his time, did not last long

How Lycurgus' laws were stablished

Why Numa is to be preferred before Lycurgus

after, because it had not the bond of education, and the discipline of children which should maintain it. Why, may a man say to me here, hath not Rome excelled still, and prevailed more and more in chevalry? This question requireth a long answer, and specially unto such men as place felicity in riches, in possessions, and in the greatness of empire, rather than in the quiet, safety, peace, and concord of a common weal: and in clemency and justice, joined with contentation. Nevertheless, howsoever it was, that maketh for Lycurgus also, that the Romans after they had changed the state which they had of Numa, did so marvellously increase and grow mighty: and that the Lacedæmonians to the contrary, so soon as they began to break Lycurgus' laws, being of great authority and sway, fell afterwards to be of small account. So that having lost the sovereignty and commandment over Greece, they stood in great hazard also to be overthrown for ever. But in troth it was some divine thing in Numa, that he being a mere stranger, the Romans did seek him, to make him king, and that he could so change all, and rule a whole city as he listed (not yet joined together) without need of any force or violence: as it was in Lycurgus, to be assisted with the best of the city, in resisting the commons of Lacedæmon, but he could never otherwise have kept them in peace, and made them love together, but by his only wisdom and justice.

THE LIFE OF SOLON

Solon's lineage

Didymus the Grammarian, in a little book that he wrote, and dedicated unto Asclepiades, touching the tables of the laws of Solon, allegeth the words of one Philocles, in which he speaketh against the common opinion of those that have written, that Solon's father was called Euphorion. For all other writers agree, that he was the son of Execestides, a man but reasonably to live, although otherwise he was of the noblest and most ancient house of the city of Athens. For of his father's side, he was descended of King Codrus: and for his mother, Heraclides Ponticus writeth, she was cousin-german unto Pisistratus' mother. For this cause even from the beginning there was great friendship between them, partly for their kindred, and partly also for the courtesy and beauty of Pisistratus, with whom it is reported Solon on a time was in love. Afterwards they fortuned to fall at jar one with the other, about matter of state and government: yet this square bred no violent inconvenience between them, but they reserved in their hearts still their ancient amity, which continued the memory of their love, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That Solon was no

Solon's judgement of riches

staid man to withstand beauty, nor any great doer to prevail in love, it is manifest to all, as well by other poetical writings that he hath made, as by a law of his own, wherein he did forbid bondmen to perfume themselves, or to be lovers of children. Who placed this law among honest matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better sort, and forbidding it to the basest. They say also that Pisistratus' self was in love with Charmus, and that he did set up the little image of love, which is in Academia, where they were wont to light the holy candle. But Solon's father (as Hermippus writeth) having spent his goods in liberality, and deeds of courtesy, though he might easily have been relieved at divers men's hands with money, he was yet ashamed to take any, because he came of a house which was wont rather to give and relieve others, than to take themselves: so being yet a young man, he devised to trade marchandise. Howbeit others say, that Solon travelled countries, rather to see the world, and to learn, than to traffic, or gain. For sure he was very desirous of knowledge, as appeareth manifestly: for that being now old, he commonly used to say this verse:

I grow old learning still.

Also he was not covetously bent, nor loved riches too much: for he said in one place:

Whoso hath goods, and gold enough at call,
Great herds of beasts, and flocks in many a fold,
Both horse and mule, yea store of corn and all,
That may content each man above the mould:

No richer is, for all those heaps and hoards,
Than he which hath sufficiently to feed,
And clothe his corpse with such as God affords.
But if his joy and chief delight do breed,
For to behold the fair and heavenly face
Of some sweet wife, which is adorned with grace:
Or else some child, of beauty fair and bright,
Then hath he cause (indeed) of deep delight.

The commodities of marchandise

And in another place also he saith:

Indeed I do desire some wealth to have at will:
But not unless the same be got by faithful dealing still.
For sure who so desires by wickedness to thrive,
Shall find that justice from such goods will justly him deprive.

There is no law forbiddeth an honest man, or gentleman, greedily to scrape goods together, and more than may suffice: and likewise to get sufficient to maintain one withal, and to defray all needful charges. In those days no state was discommended, as saith Hesiodus, nor any art or science made any difference between men: but marchandise they thought an honourable state, as that which delivered means, to traffic into strange and far countries, to get acquaintance with states, to procure the love of princes, and chiefly to gather the experience of the world. So that there have been marchants, which heretofore have been founders of great cities: as he which first built Massilia, after he had obtained the friendship of the Gauls, dwelling by the river of Rhone. And they say also, that Thales Milesius the wise, did traffic marchandise, and that Hippocrates the mathematick did even so: and likewise that Plato

How Solon used his poetry

travelling into Egypt, did bear the whole charges of his journey, with the gains he made of the sale of oil he carried thither. They remember also that Solon learned to be lavish in expense, to fare delicately, and to speak wantonly of pleasures in his poems, somewhat more licentiously than became the gravity of a philosopher: only because he was brought up in the trade of marchandise, wherein for that men are marvellous subject to great losses and dangers, they seek other whiles good cheer to drive these cares away, and liberty to make much of themselves. Yet it appeareth by these verses, that Solon accompted himself rather in the number of the poor, than of the rich.

Rich men (oft-times) in lewdest lives do range,
And often seen that vertuous men be poor:
Yet would the good their goodness never change
With lewd estate, although their wealth be more.
For vertue stands always both firm and stable:
When riches rove, and seldom are durable.

This poetry at the beginning he used but for pleasure, and when he had leisure, writing no matter of importance in his verses. Afterwards he did set out many grave matters of philosophy, and the most part of such things as he had devised before, in the government of a common-weal, which he did not for history or memory's sake, but only of a pleasure to discourse: for he sheweth the reasons of that he did, and in some places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproveth the Athenians. And some affirm also he went about to write his laws and ordinances in verse, and do recite his preface which was this:

Vouchsafe O mighty Jove, of heaven and earth high king :
To grant good fortune to my laws and hests in everything.
And that their glory grow in such triumphant wise,
As may remain in fame for aye, which lives and never dies.

Solon delighted in moral but not in natural philosophy

He chiefly delighted in moral philosophy, which treated of government and common weals: as the most part of the wise men did of those times. But for natural philosophy, he was very gross and simple, as appeareth by these verses:

The clattering hail and softly-falling snow
Do breed in air, and fall from clouds on high.
The dreadful claps, which thunderbolts do throw,
Do come from heaven, and lightnings bright in sky.
The sea it self by boisterous blasts doth roar
Which (were it not provoked so full sore)
Would be both calm and quiet for to pass,
As any element that ever was

So in effect there was none but Thales alone of all the seven wise men of Greece, who searched further the contemplation of things in common use among men, than he. For setting him apart, all the others got the name of wisdom, only for their understanding in matters of state and government. It is reported that they met on a day all seven together in the city of Delphes, and another time in the city of Corinth, where Periander got them together at a feast that he made to the other six. But that which most increased their glory, and made their fame most spoken of, was the sending back again of the

The rare modesty of the Wise men

three-footed stool when they all had refused it, and turned it over one to another with great humanity. For the tale is, how certain fishermen of the isle of Cos, cast their nets into the sea, and certain strangers passing by, that came from the city of Miletus, did buy their draught of fish at adventure, before the net was drawn. And when they drew it up, there came up in the net a three-footed stool of massy gold, which men say, Helen (as she did return from Troy) had thrown in in that place, in memory of an ancient oracle she called then unto her mind. Thereupon the strangers and fishermen first fell at strife about this three-footed stool, who should have it: but afterwards the two cities took part of both sides, on their citizens' behalf. In so much as wars had like to have followed between them, had not the prophetess Pythia given a like oracle unto them both: That they should give this three-footed stool unto the wisest man. Whereupon the men of Cos, sent it first to Thales in the city of Miletus, as being willing to grant that unto a private person, for which they had made wars with all the Milesians before. Thales said, he thought Bias a wiser man than himself: and so it was sent unto him. He likewise sent it again unto another, as to a wiser man. And that other, sent it also unto another. So that being thus posted from man to man, and through divers hands, in the end it was brought back again unto the city of Miletus, and delivered into the hands of Thales the second time: and last of all was carried unto Thebes, and offered up unto the temple of Apollo

Ismenian. Howbeit Theophrastus writeth, that first it was sent to the city of Priene, unto Bias: and then unto Thales, in the city of Miletus, by Bias' consent. And after that it had passed through all their hands, it was brought again unto Bias: and lastly it was sent to the city of Delphes. And thus much have the best and most ancient writers written: saving that some say instead of a three-footed stool, it was a cup that King Crœsus sent unto the city of Delphes. Other say, it was a piece of plate which Bathycles left there. They made mention also of another private meeting betwixt Anacharsis and Solon, and of another between him and Thales, where they recite, that they had this talk. Anacharsis being arrived at Athens, went to knock at Solon's gate, saying that he was a stranger which came of purpose to see him, and to desire his acquaintance and friendship. Solon answered him, that it was better to seek friendship in his own country. Anacharsis replied again: thou then that art at home, and in thine own country, begin to shew me friendship. Then Solon wondering at his bold ready wit, entertained him very courteously: and kept him a certain time in his house, and made him very good cheer, at the self same time wherein he was most busy in governing the common weal, and making laws for the state thereof. Which when Anacharsis understood, he laughed at it, to see that Solon imagined with written laws, to bridle men's covetousness and injustice. For such laws, said he, do rightly resemble the spider's cobwebs: because they take

Anacharsis and Solon's meeting

Solon's talk with Thales at Miletus

hold of little flies and gnats which fall into them, but the rich and mighty will break and run through them at their will. Solon answered him, that men do justly keep all covenants and bargains which one make with another, because it is to the hinderance of either party to break them: and even so, he did so temper his laws, that he made his citizens know, it was more for their profit to obey law and justice, than to break it. Nevertheless afterwards, matters proved rather according to Anacharsis' comparison, than agreeable to the hope that Solon had conceived. Anacharsis being by hap one day in a common assembly of the people at Athens, said that he marvelled much, why in the consultations and meetings of the Grecians, wise men propounded matters, and fools did decide them. It is said moreover, that Solon was sometime in the city of Miletus at Thales' house, where he said that he could not but marvel at Thales, that he would never marry to have children. Thales gave him never a word at that present: but within few days after he suborned a stranger, which said that he came but newly home from Athens, departing from thence but ten days before. Solon asked him immediately, what news there? This stranger whom Thales had schooled before, answered: None other there, saving that they carried a young man to burial, whom all the city followed: for that he was one of the greatest men's sons of the city, and the honestest man withal, who at that present was out of the country, and had been a long time (as they said) abroad. O poor unfortunate father,

then said Solon: and what was his name? I have heard him named, said the stranger, but I have forgotten him now: saving that they all said, he was a worthy wise man. So Solon still trembling more and more for fear, at every answer of this stranger: in the end he could hold no longer, being full of trouble, but told his name himself unto the stranger, and asked him again, if he were not the son of Solon which was buried. The very same, said the stranger. Solon with that, like a mad man straight began to beat his head, and to say, and do, like men impatient in affliction, and overcome with sorrow. But Thales laughing to see this pageant, stayed him, and said: Lo, Solon, this is it that keepeth me from marrying, and getting of children; which is of such a violence, that thou seest it hath now overcome thee, although otherwise thou art strong, and able to wrestle with any. Howbeit for anything he hath said unto thee, be of good cheer, man, for it is but a tale, and nothing so. Hermippus writeth, that Patæcus (he which said he had Æsop's soul) reciteth this story thus. Nevertheless it lacketh judgement, and the courage of a man also, to be affraid to get things necessary, fearing the loss of them: for by this reckoning, he should neither esteem honour, goods, nor knowledge when he hath them, for fear to lose them. For we see that vertue it self, which is the greatest and sweetest riches a man can have, decayeth ofttimes through sickness, or else by physic, and potions. Furthermore Thales' self, although he was not married was not therefore free from this

We should not let to get things necessary fearing to lose them

The instinct of natural love

fear, unless he would confess that he neither loved friends, kinsmen, nor country; howbeit Thales had an adopted son, called Cybisthus, which was his sister's son. For our soul having in it a natural inclination to love, and being born as well to love, as to feel, to reason, or understand, and to remember: having nothing of her own whereupon she might bestow that natural love, borroweth of other. As where there is a house or inheritance without lawful heirs, many times strangers, and base-born children, do creep into the kind affection of the owner, and when they have once won and possessed his love, they make him ever after to be kind and tender over them. So that ye shall see many times men of such a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that move them to marry, and get lawful children: and yet afterwards are ready to die for fear and sorrow, when they see their bastards (that they have gotten of their slaves or concubines) fall sick or die, and do utter words far unmeet for men of noble courage. And some such there be, that for the death of a dog, or their horse, are so out of heart, and take such thought, that they are ready to go into the ground, they look so pitifully. Other some are clean contrary, who though they have lost their children, forgone their friends, or some gentleman dear unto them, yet no sorrowful word hath comen from them, neither have they done any unseemly thing: but have passed the rest of their life like wise, constant, and vertuous men. For it is not love but weakness, which breedeth these extreme sorrows, and exceeding fear,

in men that are not exercised, nor acquainted to fight against fortune with reason. And this is the cause that plucketh from them the pleasure of that they love and desire, by reason of the continual trouble, fear and grief they feel, by thinking how in time they may be deprived of it. Now we must not arm our selves with poverty, against the grief of loss of goods: neither with lack of affection, against the loss of our friends: neither with want of marriage, against the death of children: but we must be armed with reason against misfortunes. Thus have we sufficiently enlarged this matter. The Athenians having now sustained a long and troublesome war against the Megarians, for the possession of the isle of Salamis: were in the end weary of it, and made proclamation straightly commanding upon pain of death, that no man should presume to prefer any more to the counsel of the city, the title or question of the possession of the isle of Salamis. Solon could not bear this open shame, and seeing the most part of the lustiest youths desirous still of war, though their tongues were tied for fear of the proclamation: he feigned himself to be out of his wits, and caused it to be given out that Solon was become a fool: and secretly he had made certain lamentable verses, which he had cunned without book, to sing abroad the city. So one day he ran suddenly out of his house with a garland on his head, and got him to the market-place, where the people straight swarmed like bees about him: and getting him up upon the stone where all proclamations are usually made,

Solon feigned madness to recover Salamis

Solon's stratagem

out he singeth these elegies he had made, which began after this sort:

I here present myself (an Herald) in this case,
Which come from Salamina land, that noble worthy place.
My mind in pelting prose shall never be exprest,
But song in verse heroical, for so I think it best.

This elegy is entitled Salamis, and containeth an hundred verses, which are excellently well written. And these being sung openly by Solon at that time, his friends incontinently praised them beyond measure, and especially Pisistratus: and they went about persuading the people that were present, to credit that he spake. Hereupon the matter was so handled amongst them, that by and by the proclamation was revoked, and they began to follow the wars with greater fury than before, appointing Solon to be general in the same. But the common tale and report is, that he went by sea with Pisistratus unto the temple of Venus, surnamed Colias: where he found all the women at a solemn feast and sacrifice, which they made of custom to the goddess. He taking occasion thereby, sent from thence a trusty man of his own unto the Megarians, which then had Salamis: whom he instructed to feign himself a revolted traitor, and that he came of purpose to tell them, that if they would but go with him, they might take all the chief ladies and gentlewomen of Athens on a sudden. The Megarians easily believed him, and shipped forthwith certain soldiers to go with him. But when Solon per-

ceived the ship under sail coming from Salamis, he commanded the women to depart, and instead of them he put lusty beardless springalls into their apparel, and gave them little short daggers to convey under their clothes, commanding them to play and dance together upon the seaside, until their enemies were landed, and their ship at anker; and so it came to pass. For the Megarians being deceived by that they saw afar of, as soon as ever they came to the shore side did land in heaps, one in another's neck, even for greediness, to take these women: but not a man of them escaped, for they were slain every mother's son. This stratagem being finely handled, and to good effect, the Athenians took sea straight, and coasted over to the isle of Salamis: which they took upon the sudden, and wan it without much resistance. Other say that it was not taken after this sort: but that Apollo Delphicus gave Solon first such an oracle:

Solon wan Salamis

Thou shalt first win by vows and sacrifice
The help of lords and demi-gods full bright:
Of whose dead bones, the dust engraved lies
In western soil, Asopia that height.

By order of this oracle, he one night passed over to Salamis, and did sacrifice to Periphemus, and to Cychrens, demi-gods of the country. Which done, the Athenians delivered him five hundred men, who willingly offered themselves: and the city made an accord with them: that if they took the isle of Salamis, they should bear greatest authority in the common weal.

How Megara was taken

Solon embarked his soldiers into divers fisher boats, and appointed a galliot of thirty owers to come after him, and he ankered hard by the city of Salamis, under the point which looketh towards the isle of Negrepont. The Megarians which were within Salamis, having by chance heard some inkling of it, but yet knew nothing of certainty: ran presently in hurly-burly to arm them, and manned out a ship to decry what it was. But they fondly coming within danger, were taken by Solon, who clapped the Megarians under hatches fast bound, and in their rooms put aboard in their ship the choicest soldiers he had of the Athenians, commanding them to set their course direct upon the city, and to keep themselves as close out of sight as could be. And he himself with all the rest of his soldiers landed presently, and marched to encounter with the Megarians, which were come out into the field. Now whilst they were fighting together, Solon's men whom he had sent in the Megarians' ship, entered the haven and wan the town. This is certainly true, and testified by that which is shewed yet at this day. For to keep a memorial hereof, a ship of Athens arriveth quietly at the first, and by and by those that are in the ship make a great shout, and a man armed leaping out of the ship, runneth shouting towards the rock called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firm land: and hard by the same is the temple of Mars, which Solon built there after he had overcome the Megarians in battle, from whence he sent back again those prisoners that he had taken (which

were saved from the slaughter of the battell) without any ransom paying. Nevertheless, the Megarians were sharply bent still, to recover Salamis again. Much hurt being done and suffered on both sides: both parties in the end made the Lacedæmonians judges of the quarrel. But upon judgement given, common report is, that Homer's authority did Solon good service, because he did add these verses to the number of ships, which are in the Iliads of Homer, which he rehearsed before the judges, as if they had been indeed written by Homer:

An interpolation in the Iliad

Ajax that champion stout did lead with him in charge
Twelve ships from Salamina soil, which he had left at large,
And even those self same ships in battell did he cast,
And place in order for to fight with enemy's force at last.
In that same very place, whereas it seemed then
The captains which from Athens came embattled had their men.

Howbeit the Athenians selves think, it was but a tale of pleasure: and say that Solon made it appear to the judges, that Philæus and Eurysaces (both Ajax' sons) were made free denizens of Athens. Whereupon they gave the isle of Salamis unto the Athenians, and one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the country of Attica: and the other in a town called Melité. And for due proof thereof, they say there is yet a certain canton or quarter of the country of Attica, which is called the canton of the Philaïdes, after the name of

Solon defendeth the cause of the temple of Delphes

this Philæus, where Pisistratus was born. And it is said moreover that Solon (because he would throughly convince the Megarians) did allege that the Salaminians buried not the dead after the Megarians' manner, but after the Athenians' manner. For in Megara they bury the dead with their faces to the east: and in Athens their faces are towards the west. Yet Hereas the Megarian denieth it, saying that the Megarians did bury them also with their faces towards the west: alleging moreover, that at Athens every corse had his own bier or coffin by it self, and that at Megara they did put three or four corses together. They say also there were certain oracles of Apollo Pythius, which did greatly help Solon, by which the god called Salamis, Ionia. Their strife was judged by five arbitrators, all Spartans born: that is to say, Critolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes. Solon undoubtedly won great glory and honour by this exploit, yet was he much more honoured and esteemed, for the oration he made in defence of the temple of Apollo, in the city of Delphes: declaring that it was not meet to be suffered, that the Cyrrhæans should at their pleasure abuse the sanctuary of the oracle, and that they should aid the Delphians in honour and reverence of Apollo. Whereupon the counsel of the Amphictyons, being moved with his words and persuasions, proclaimed wars against the Cyrrhæans: as divers others do witness, and especially Aristotle, in the story he wrote of those that wan the Pythian games, where he ascribeth unto Solon

the honour of that determination. Nevertheless Hermippus saith, Solon was not made general of their army, as Evanthes Samian hath written. For Æschines the orator wrote no such thing of him: and in the chronicles of the Delphians they find, that one Alcmæon, and not Solon, was the general of the Athenians. Now the city of Athens had a long time been vexed and troubled through Cylon's hainous offence, ever since the year that Megacles (governor of the city of Athens) did with fair words handle so the confederates of the rebellion of Cylon, which had taken sanctuary within the liberties of the temple of Minerva: that he persuaded them to be wise, and to present themselves before the judges, holding by a thread, which they should tie about the base of the image of the goddess where she stood, because they should not lose their liberty. But when they were come to the place of the honourable goddesses so called (which be the images of the furies) coming down to present themselves before the judges, the thread brake of itself. Then Megacles, and other officers his companions, laid hold on them presently, saying that it was a manifest sign that the goddess Minerva refused to save them. So those they took, and all they could lay hands on, were immediately stoned to death without the city: the rest which took the altars of refuge, were slain there also. And none were saved, but such as had made means to the governors' wives of the city, to entreat for them: which from that time forth were ever hated of the people, and commonly called the abjects and

The sacrilege of Megacles

Strife at Athens

excommunicates. Who being the issues of the rebels that rose with Cylon, chanced to rise again in credit, and growing to great authority, they never left quarrelling and fighting continually with the offspring of Megacles. These factions were greatest and highest in Solon's time: who being of authority, and seeing the people thus divided in two parts, he stepped in between them, with the chiefest men of Athens, and did so persuade, and entreat those whom they called the abjects and excommunicates, that they were contented to be judged. So three hundred of the chiefest citizens were chosen judges to hear this matter. The accuser was Myron Phlyeian. This matter was heard and pleaded, and by sentence of the judges, the excommunicates were condemned: those that were alive, to perpetual exile; and the bones of them that were dead, to be digged up, and thrown out of the confines of the territory of Athens. But whilst the city of Athens was occupied with these uproars, the Megarians wisely caught hold of the occasion delivered, and set upon the Athenians, took from them the haven of Nisæa, and recovered again out of their hands the isle of Salamis. Furthermore, all the city was possessed with a certain superstitious fear: for some said, that sprites were come again, and strange sights were seen. The prognosticators also said, they perceived by their sacrifices the city was defiled with some abominable and wicked things, which were of necessity to be purged and thrown out. Hereupon, they sent into Creta for Epimenides Phæstian, whom they reckoned the seventh of the wise men, at

least such as will not allow Periander for of the number. He was a holy and devout and very wise in celestial things, by in- ion from above: by reason whereof, men of ime called him the new Cures, that is to Prophet: and he was thought the son of a h called Balté. When he was come to ns, and grown in friendship with Solon: he elp him much, and made his way for estab- g of his laws. For he acquainted the Athe- to make their sacrifices much lighter, and of cost: and brought the citizens to be more rate in their mourning, with cutting off in severe and barbarous ceremonies, which nost part of women observed in their mourn- and he ordained certain sacrifices which he d have done immediately after the obsequies he dead. But that which exceeded all the was, that by using the citizens unto ess and devotion, daily sacrifices, prayers the gods, purging of themselves, and humble ings: he wan men's hearts by little and to yield them more conformable to justice, to be more inclined to concord and unity. reported also that Epimenides when he saw haven of Munychia, and had long considered : told those about him, that men were very in foreseeing things to come. For if the nians (said he) knew what hurt this haven d bring them: they would eat it as (they with their teeth. It is said also that les did prognosticate such a like thing, who his death commanded they should bury his , in some vile place of no reckoning, with-

Epimenides the Sage

The plain, the shore, and the mountain

in the territory of the Milesians, saying tha day there should be the place of a city. menides therefore being marvellously esteem every man for these causes, was greatly hor of the Athenians, and they offered him presents of money and other things, b would take nothing, and only prayed the give him a bough of the holy olive: they granted him, and so he returned s home into Creta. Now that this seditio Cylon was utterly appeased in Athens, fo the excommunicates were banished the co the city fell again into their old trouble dissensions about the government of the co weal: and they were divided into so c parties and factions, as there were peop sundry places and territories within the c of Attica. For there were the people mountains, the people of the valleys, an people of the sea coast. Those of the tains, took the common people's part for lives. Those of the valley, would a few best citizens should carry the sway. The men would that neither of them should because they would have had a mean g ment and mingled of them both. Furthe the faction between the poor and rich, ceeding of their unequality, was at tha very great. By reason whereof the city great danger, and it seemed there was no pacify or take up these controversies, unles tyrant happened to rise, that would take him to rule the whole. For all the c people were so sore indebted to the ric

either they plowed their lands, and yielded them the sixt part of their crop (for which cause they were called Hectemorii and servants), or else they borrowed money of them at usury, upon gage of their bodies to serve it out. And if they were not able to pay them, then were they by the law delivered to their creditors, who kept them as bondmen and slaves in their houses, or else they sent them into strange countries to be sold: and many even for very poverty were forced to sell their own children (for there was no law to forbid the contrary) or else to forsake their city and country, for the extreme cruelty and hard dealings of these abominable usurers their creditors. Insomuch that many of the lustiest and stoutest of them, banded together in companies, and encouraged one another, not to suffer and bear any longer such extremity, but to choose them a stout and trusty captain, that might set them at liberty, and redeem those out of captivity, which were judged to be bondmen and servants, for lack of paying of their dets at their days appointed: and so to make again a new division of all lands and tenements, and wholly to change and turn up the whole state and government. Then the wisest men of the city, who saw Solon only neither partner with the rich in their oppression, neither partaker with the poor in their necessity: made suit to him, that it would please him to take the matter in hand, and to appease and pacify all these broils and sedition. Yet Phanias Lesbian writeth, that he used a subtilty, whereby he deceived both the one and the other side, concerning the

Solon' equity and up rightn

Solon chosen reformer of the law

common weal. For he secretly promis
poor to divide the lands again: and th
also, to confirm their covenants and b
Howsoever it fell out, it is very certa
Solon from the beginning made it a great
and was very scrupulous to deal between
fearing the covetousness of the one, and
gancy of the other. Howbeit in the
was chosen governor after Philombrotus, a
made reformer of the rigour of the law
the temperer of the state and common w
consent and agreement of both parties.
rich accepted him, because he was no
the poor did also like him, because he
honest man. They say, moreover, that on
and sentence which he spake (which
present was rife in every man's mouth
equality did breed no strife: did as well
the rich and wealthy, as the poor and
For the one sort conceived of this
equality, that he would measure all
according to the quality of the man: a
other took it for their purpose, that he
measure all things by the number, and
poll only. Thus the captains of both
persuaded and prayed him, boldly to tak
him that sovereign authority, sithence he
whole city now at his commandment.
neuters also of every part, when they
very hard to pacify these things with
reason, were well content that the wise
honestest man, should alone have the
power in his hands. Some say also tha
was such an oracle of Apollo:

Sit thou at helm, as governor to steer,
To guide our course and rule the rolling ship
For thou shalt see full many Athenians there
Will take thy part, and after thee will trip.

Solon refuseth to be a tyrant

But his familiar friends above all rebuked him, saying he was to be accompted no better than a beast, if for fear of the name of tyrant, he would refuse to take upon him a kingdom: which is the most just and honourable state, if one take it upon him that is an honest man. As in olden time, Tynnondas made himself king of those of Negrepont, with their consent: and as Pittacus was then presently of those of Mitylene. Notwithstanding, all these goodly reasons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they say that he answered his friends, that principality and tyranny was indeed a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, when he was once entred into it. And in certain verses that he wrote to Phocus, thus he said:

I neither blush, nor yet repent myself,
That have preserved my native soil always,
And that therein to hoard up trash and pelf
No tyrant's thought could once eclipse my praise.
No might could move my mind to any wrong,
Which might beblot the glory of my name:
For so I thought to live in honour long,
And far excel all other men for fame.

Hereby appeareth plainly, that even before he was chosen reformer of the state, to establish new laws: he was then of great countenance and authority. But he himself writeth, that many

Excellent temperature

said of him thus, after he had refused the occasion of usurping of this tyranny:

Sure Solon was a fool, and of a bashful mind,
That would refuse the great good hap which gods to him assigned.
The prey was in his hands, yet durst he never draw
The net therefore: but stood abasht, and like a dastard daw.
For had not that so been, he would (for one day's reign,
To be a king in Athens town) himself (all quick) have slain.
And eke subverted quite his family withal,
So sweet it is to rule the roost, yclad in princely pall.

Thus brought he common rumour to taber on his head. Now, notwithstanding he had refused the kingdom, yet he waxed nothing the more remiss or soft therefore in governing, neither would he bow for fear of the great, nor yet would frame his laws to their liking, that had chosen him their reformer. For where the mischief was tolerable, he did not straight pluck it up by the roots: neither did he so change the state, as he might have done, lest if he should have attempted to turn upside down the whole government, he might afterwards have been never able to settle and establish the same again. Therefore he only altred that, which he thought by reason he would persuade his citizens unto, or else by force he ought to compel them to accept, mingling as he said, sour with sweet, and force with justice. And herewith agreeth his answer that he made afterwards unto one that asked him, if he had made the best laws he could for the Athenians? Yea sure, saith

he, such as they were to receive. And this that followeth also, they have ever since observed in the Athenian tongue: to make certain things pleasant, that be hateful, finely conveying them under colour of pleasing names. As calling whores, lemans: taxes, contributions: garrisons, guards: prisons, houses. And all this came up first by Solon's invention, who called clearing of debts Seisachtheia: in English, discharge. For the first change and reformation he made in government was this: he ordained that all manner of debts past should be clear, and nobody should ask his debtor any thing for the time passed. That no man should thenceforth lend money out to usury, upon covenants for the body to be bound, if it were not repaid. Howbeit some write (as Androtion among other) that the poor were contented that the interest only for usury should be moderated, without taking away the whole debt: and that Solon called this easy and gentle discharge, Seisachtheia, with crying up the value of money. For he raised the pound of silver, being before but threescore and thirteen drachms, full up to an hundred: so they which were to pay great sums of money, paid by tale as much as they ought, but with less number of pieces than the debt could have been paid when it was borrowed. And so the debtors gained much, and the creditors lost nothing. Nevertheless the greater part of them which have written the same, say, that this crying up of money, was a general discharge of all debts, conditions, and covenants upon the same: whereto the very

The value of money cried up by Solon

A scurvy trick

poems themselves, which Solon wrote, do seem to agree. For he glorieth, and breaketh forth in his verses, that he had taken away all bawks and marks that separated men's lands through the country of Attica, and that now he had set at liberty, that which before was in bondage. And that of the citizens of Athens, which for lack of payment of their debts had been condemned for slaves to their creditors, he had brought many home again out of strange countries, where they had been so long, that they had forgotten to speak their natural tongue, and other which remained at home in captivity, he had now set them all at good liberty. But while he was in doing this, men say a thing thwarted him, that troubled him marvellously. For having framed an edict for clearing of all debts, and lacking only a little to grace it with words, and to give it some pretty preface, that otherwise was ready to be proclaimed: he opened himself somewhat to certain of his familiars whom he trusted (as Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus) and told them how he would not meddle with lands and possessions, but would only clear and cut off all manner of debts. These men before the proclamation came out, went presently to the money-men, and borrowed great sums of money of them, and laid it out straight upon land. So when the proclamation came out, they kept the lands they had purchased, but restored not the money they had borrowed. This foul part of theirs made Solon very ill spoken of, and wrongfully blamed: as if he had not only suffered it, but had been partaker of this wrong and in-

justice. Notwithstanding he cleared himself of this slanderous report, losing five talents by his own law. For it was well known that so much was due unto him, and he was the first that following his own proclamation, did clearly release his debtors of the same. Other say he was owing fifteen talents, and among the same, Polyzelus the Rhodian is one that affirmeth it. Notwithstanding they ever after called Solon's friends *Chreocopides*, cutters of debts. This law neither liked the one nor the other sort. For it greatly offended the rich, for cancelling their bonds: and it much more misliked the poor, because all lands and possessions they gaped for, were not made again common, and everybody alike rich and wealthy, as Lycurgus had made the Lacedæmonians. But Lycurgus was the eleventh descended of the right line from Hercules, and had many years been king of Lacedæmon, where he had gotten great authority, and made himself many friends: all which things together, did greatly help him to execute that, which he wisely had imagined for the order of his common weal. Yet also, he used more persuasion than force, a good witness thereof the loss of his eye: preferring a law before his private injury, which hath power to preserve a city long in union and concord, and to make citizens to be neither poor nor rich. Solon could not attain to this, for he was born in a popular state, and a man but of mean wealth. Howbeit he did what he could possible, with the power he had, as one seeking to win no credit with his citizens, but only

Solon and Lycurgus

Solon's absolute authority in the common weal

his counsel. Now, that he had got the ill will of the greater part of the city, by his proclamation which he made: he himself doth witness it saying:

Even those which erst did bear me friendly face,
And spake full fair, wherever I them met,
Gan now begin to look full grim of grace,
And were (like foes) in force against me set,
As if I had done them some spite or scorn,
Or open wrong, which were not to be borne.

Nevertheless he saith immediately after, that with the same authority and power he had, a man possibly

Could not control the people's minds,
Nor still their brains, which wrought like winds.

But shortly after, having a feeling of the benefit of his ordinance, and everyone forgetting his private quarrel, they all together made a common sacrifice, which they called the sacrifice of Seisachtheia, or discharge, and chose Solon general reformer of the law, and of the whole state of the common weal, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will. As the offices of state, common assemblies, voices in election, judgements in justice, and the body of the Senate. And they gave him also full power and authority, to sess and tax any of them, to appoint the number, what time the sess should continue, and to keep, confirm, and disannul at his pleasure, any of the ancient laws and customs then in being. To begin withal, he first took away all

Draco's bloody laws, saving for murther, and manslaughter, which were too severe and cruel. For almost he did ordain but one kind of punishment, for all kinds of faults and offences, which was death. So that they which were condemned for idleness, were judged to die. And petty larceny, as robbing men's hortyards and gardens of fruit, or herbs, was as severely punished as those who had committed sacrilege or murder. Demades therefore encountred it pleasantly, when he said: that Draco's laws were not written with ink, but with blood. And Draco himself being asked one day, why his punishments were so unequal, as death for all kinds of faults, he answered: Because he thought the least offence worthy so much punishment, and for the greatest, he found none more grievous. Then Solon being desirous to have the chief offices of the city to remain in rich men's hands, as already they did, and yet to mingle the authority of government in such sort, as the meaner people might bear a little sway, which they never could before: he made an estimate of the goods of every private citizen. And those which he found yearly worth five hundred bushels of corn, and other liquid fruits and upwards, he called Pentacosiomedimni: as to say, five hundred bushel men of revenue. And those that had three hundred bushels a year, and were able to keep a horse of service, he put in the second degree, and called them knights. They that might dispend but two hundred bushels a year, were put in the third place, and called Zeugitae. All other

Solon rateth every citizen at a certain sum

The authority of the judge

under those, were called Thetes, as ye would say, hirelings, or craftsmen living of their labour: whom he did not admit to bear any office in the city, neither were they taken as free citizens, saving they had voices in elections, and assemblies of the city, and in judgements, where the people wholly judged. This at the first seemed nothing, but afterwards they felt it was to great purpose, for hereby the most part of private quarrels and strife that grew among them, were in the end laid open before the people. For he suffered those to appeal unto the people, which thought they had wrong judgement in their causes. Furthermore because his laws were written somewhat obscurely, and might be diversely taken and interpreted, this did give a great deal more authority and power to the judges. For, considering all their controversies could not be ended, and judged by express law: they were driven of necessity always to run to the judges, and debated their matters before them. In so much as the judges by this means came to be somewhat above the law: for they did even expound it as they would themselves. Solon self doth note this equal division of the public authority, in a place of his poesies, where he saith:

Such power have I given to common people's hand,
As might become their mean estate, with equity to stand;
And as I have not pluckt from them their dignity,
So have I not too much increased their small authority;

Unto the rich likewise, I have allowed no more
Than well might seem (in just conceit) sufficient for their store.
And so I have for both provided in such wise,
That neither shall each other wrong, nor seem for to despise.

The council of the Areopagites

Yet considering it was meet to provide for the poverty of the common sort of people: he suffered any man that would, to take upon him the defence of any poor man's case that had the wrong. For if a man were hurt, beaten, forced, or otherwise wronged: any other man that would, might lawfully sue the offender, and prosecute law against him. And this was a wise law ordained of him, to accustom his citizens to be sorry for another's hurt, and so to feel it, as if any part of his own body had been injured. And they say he made an answer on a time agreeable to this law. For, being asked what city he thought best governed, he answered: That city where such as receive no wrong, do as earnestly defend wrong offered to others, as the very wrong and injury had been done unto themselves. He erected also the council of the Areopagites, of those magistrates of the city, out of which they did yearly choose their governor: and he himself had been of that number, for that he had been governor for a year. Wherefor perceiving now the people were grown to a stomack and haughtiness of mind because they were clear discharged of their debts: he set one up for matters of state, another council of an hundred chosen out of every tribe, whereof four hundred of them were

An act for matching with inheritors

thinketh is very unhonest and fond. any man according to the law hath with a rich heir and inheritor, and of h impotent, and unable to do the offi husband, she may lawfully lie with an she liketh, of her husband's nearest Howbeit some affirm, that it is a wise r for those, which knowing themselves u entertain wedlock, will for covetousness marry with rich heirs and possessior mind to abuse poor gentlewomen un colour of law: and will think to fe restrain nature. For, seeing the law suf inheritor or possessioner thus ill bestowe pleasure to be bold with any of her kin: men will either leave to purch marriages, or if they be so careless t will needs marry, it shall be to their shame and ignominy, and so sh deservedly pay for their greedy cov And the law is well made also, bec wife hath not scope to all her kinsmen, but unto one choice man w liketh best of his house: to the end children that shall be born, shall be at of her husband's blood and kindred. confirmeth the same, that such a new wife should be shut up with her husb eat a quince with him: and that he al marrieth such an inheritor, should of dut thrice a moneth at the least. For alt get no children of her, yet it is an h husband doth to his wife, arguing that her for an honest woman, that he lo

and that he esteemeth of her. Besides, it taketh away many mislikings and displeasures which oftentimes happen in such cases, and keepeth love and good will waking, that it die not utterly between them. Furthermore, he took away all jointers and dowries in other marriages, and willed that the wives should bring their husbands but three gowns only, with some other little movables of small value, and without any other thing as it were: utterly forbidding that they should buy their husbands, or that they should make marchandise of marriages, as of other trades to gain, but would that man and woman should marry together for issue, for pleasure, and for love, but in no case for money. And for proof hereof, Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, one day answered his mother (which would needs be married to a young man of Syracusa) in this sort. I have power (saith he) to break the laws of Syracusa, by having the kingdom: but to force the law of nature, or to make marriage without the reasonable compass of age, that passeth my reach and power. So is it not tolerable and much less allowable also, that such disorder should be in well-ordered cities, that such uncomely and unfit marriages should be made, between couples of so unequal years: considering there is no meet nor necessary end of such matches. A wise governor of a city, or a judge and reformer of laws and manners, might well say to an old man that should marry with a young maid, as the poet saith of Philoctetes:

Solon forbiddeth jointers and dowries

Ah silly wretch, how trim a man art thou
At these young years, for to be married now?

A law forbidding to speak evil of the dead

And finding a young man in an woman's house, getting his living by her errands, and waxing fat as they partridge doth by treading of the hens take him from thence, to bestow him young maid that shall have need of a And thus much for this matter. greatly commend another law of Solo forbiddeth to speak ill of the dead. F good and godly thing to think, that t not to touch the dead, no more than holy things: and men should take gre offend those that are departed out of t besides it is a token of wisdom and beware of immortal enemies. He c also in the self same law, that no m speak ill of the living, specially in during divine service, or in council c the city, nor in the theatres whilest g a-playing: upon pain of three silver to be paid to him that was injured, a the common treasury. For he thoug much shameless boldness, in no place t one's choler, and moreover, that suc civility and good manners: and yet alt suppress and smother it, he knew it only a hard matter, but to some n possible. And he that maketh laws, regard to the common possibility of n will punish little, with profitable exa not much without some profit. So wa vellously well thought of, for the la made touching wills and testaments. F men might not lawfully make their h

would, but the goods came to the children kinred of the testator. But he leaving it liberty, to dispose their goods where thought good, so they had no children of own: did therein prefer friendship before red, and good will and favour before ssity and constraint, and so made every one and master of his own goods. Yet he did simply and alike allow of all sorts of gifts, ioever they were made: but those only h were made by men of sound memory, or hose whose wits failed them not by extreme iess, or through drinks, medicines, poisonings, ns, or other such violence and extraordinary is, neither yet through the enticements and iasions of women. As thinking very wisely, was no difference at all between those that evidently forced by constraint, and those were compassed and wrought by subornation ngth to do a thing against their will, taking l in this case equal with violence, and ure with sorrow, as passions with madness, h commonly have as much force the one as other, to draw and drive men from reason. made another law also, in which he inted women their times to go abroad into fields, their mourning, their feasts and sacri-, plucking from them all disorder and wilful ty, which they used before. For he did d that they should carry out of the city them above three gowns, and to take ials with them above the value of a half-y, neither basket nor pannier above a cubit ; and especially he did forbid them to go

A law for women going abroad

Crafts and occupations advanced

in the night, other than in their coach, and that a torch should be carried before them. He did forbid them also at the burial of the dead, to tear and spoil themselves with blows, to make lamentations in verses, to weep at the funerals of a stranger not being their kinsman, to sacrifice an ox on the grave of the dead, to bury above three gowns with the corse, to go to other men's graves, but at the very time of burying the corse: all which or the most part of them, are forbidden by our laws at this day. Moreover, those laws appoint a penalty upon such women as offend in the same, to be distrained for, by certain officers expressly named, to control and reform the abuses of women, as womanish persons and faint-hearted, which suffer themselves to be overcome with such passions and fondness in their mourning. And perceiving that the city of Athens began to replenish daily more and more, by men's repairing thither from all parts, and by reason of the great assured safety and liberty that they found there: and also considering how the greatest part of the realm became in manner heathy, and was very barren, and that men trafficking the seas, are not wont to bring any merchandise to those, which can give them nothing again in exchange: he began to practise that his citizens should give themselves unto crafts and occupations, and made a law, that the son should not be bound to relieve his father being old, unless he had set him in his youth to some occupation. It was a wise part of Lycurgus (who dwelt in a city where was no resort of strangers, and had so

great a territory, as could have furnished twice as many people, as Euripides saith, and moreover on all sides was environed with a great number of slaves of the Helots, whom it was needful to keep still in labour and work continually) to have his citizens always occupied in exercises of feats of arms, without making them to learn any other science, but discharged them of all other miserable occupations and handicrafts. But Solon framing his laws unto things, and not things unto laws, when he saw the country of Attica so lean and barren, that it could hardly bring forth to sustain those that tilled the ground only, and therefore much more impossible to keep so great a multitude of idle people as were in Athens: thought it very requisite to set up occupations, and to give them countenance and estimation. Therefore he ordered, that the council of the Areopagites, should have full power and authority to inquire how every man lived in the city, and also to punish such as they found idle people, and did not labour. But this was thought too severe and straight a law which he ordained (as Heraclides Ponticus writeth) that the children born of common harlots and strumpets should not be bound to relieve their fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of matrimony, plainly showeth that he took not a wife to have children, but only to satisfy his lust and pleasure: and so such a one hath his just reward, and is disappointed of the reverence that a father ought to have of his children, since through his own fault the birth of his child falleth out to his reproach. Yet to

The authority of the court of the Areopagites

Value of money at Athens

say truly, in Solon's laws touching women, there are many absurdities, as they fall out ill-favouredly. For he maketh it lawful for any man to kill an adulterer taking him with the fact. But he that ravisheth or forcibly taketh away a free woman, is only condemned to pay a hundred silver drachms. And he that was the Pander to procure her, should only pay twenty drachms. Unless she had been a common strumpet or courtesan: for such do justify open access, to all that will hire them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any person to sell his daughters or sisters unless the father or brother had taken them abusing themselves before marriage. Me thinketh it is far from purpose and reason with severity to punish a thing in one place, and over lightly to pass it over in another: or to set some light fine on one's head for a great fault, and after to discharge him, as it were but a matter of sport. Unless they will excuse it thus, that money being very hard and scant at that time in Athens, those fines were then very great and grievous to pay. For in setting out the charges of offerings which should be made in sacrifices, he appointed a wether to be a convenient offering, and he setteth a bushel of corn at a silver drachm. More he ordained, that they which won any of the games at Athens, should pay to the common treasury a hundred drachms. And those that won any of the games Olympical, five hundred drachms. Also he appointed that he which brought a he-wolf, should have five drachms, and him one drachm for reward of a she-wolf. Whereof as

Demetrius Phalerian writeth: the one was the price of an ox, and the other of a mutton. For, touching the rates he ordained in the sixteenth table of his laws, meet for burnt sacrifices, it is likely he did rate them at a much higher price, than ordinarily they were worth: and yet notwithstanding, the price which he setteth, is very little in comparison of that which they are worth at this day. Now it was a custom ever amongst the Athenians to kill their wolves, because all their country lay for pasture, and not for tillage. Some there be that say, the tribes of the people of Athens have not been called after the names of the children of Ion, as the common opinion hath been: but that they were called after their divers trades and manners of living, which they took themselves unto from the beginning. For, such as gave themselves unto the wars, were called *Hoplites:* as who would say, men of arms. Those that wrought in their occupations, were called *Ergades:* as much to say, as men of occupation. The other two which were husbandmen, and followed the plough, were called *Teleontes:* as you would say, labouring men. And those that kept beasts and cattle, were called *Ægicores:* as much to say, as herdmen. Now, forasmuch as the whole province of Attica was very dry, and had great lack of water, being not full of rivers, running streams, nor lakes, nor yet stored with any great number of springs, in so much as they are driven there to use (through the most part of the country) water drawn out of wells made with men's hands: he made such an order, that where

The tribes of the Athenians how they were called

An act for planting and setting of trees

there was any well within the space of an *hippicon*, that everybody within that circuit, might come and draw water only at that well, for his use and necessity. *Hippicon* is the distance of four furlongs, which is half a mile: and those that dwelt further off, should go seek their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged ten yards deep in their ground, and could find no water in the bottom, in this case, they might lawfully go to their next neighbour's well, and take a pot full of water containing six gallons, twice a day: judging it great reason that necessity should be holpen, but not that idleness should be cherished. He appointed also the spaces that should be kept and observed by those that would set or plant trees in their ground, as being a man very skilful in these matters. For he ordained, that whosoever would plant any kind of trees in his ground, he should set them five foot asunder one from another: but for the fig tree and olive tree specially, that they should in any case be nine foot asunder, because these two trees do spread out their branches far off, and they cannot stand near other trees, but they must needs hurt them very much. For besides that they draw away the sap that doth nourish the other trees, they cast also a certain moisture and steam upon them, that is very hurtful and incommodious. More he ordained, that whosoever would dig a pit or hole in his ground, he should dig it as far off from his neighbour's pit, as the pit he digged was in depth to the bottom. And he that would set up a hive of bees in his ground, he should

set them at the least three hundred foot from other hives set about him before. And of the fruits of the earth, he was contented they should transport and sell only oil out of the realm to strangers, but no other fruit or grain. He ordained that the governor of the city should yearly proclaim open curses against those that should do to the contrary, or else he himself making default therein, should be fined at a hundred drachms. This ordinance is in the first table of Solon's laws, and therefore we may not altogether discredit those which say, they did forbid in the old time that men should carry figs out of the country of Attica, and that from thence it came that these pick-thanks, which bewray and accuse them that transported figs, were called Sycophants. He made another law also against the hurt that beasts might do unto men. Wherein he ordained, that if a dog did bite any man, he that ought him should deliver to him that was bitten, his dog tied to a log of timber of four cubits long: and this was a very good device, to make men safe from dogs. But he was very straight in one law he made, that no stranger might be made denizen and free man of the city of Athens, unless he were a banished man for ever out of his country, or else that he should come and dwell there with all his family, to exercise some craft or science. Notwithstanding, they say he made not this law so much to put strangers from their freedom there, as to draw them thither, assuring them by this ordinance, they might come and be free of the

Laws touching dogs and strangers

me that were in Egypt: whom when he heard rehearse the story of the Isles Atlantides as lato writeth, he proved to put the same into erse, and did send it abroad through Greece. At his departure out of Egypt he went into Cyprus, where he had great courtesy and friendhip of one of the princes of that country, alled Philocyprus, who was lord of a pretty ittle city which Demophon (Theseus' son) aused to be built upon the river of Clarie, and vas of a goodly strong situation, but in a very ean and barren country. Whereupon Solon told im, it would do better a great deal to remove out of that place, into a very fair and leasant valley that lay underneath it, and there o make it larger and statelier than it was: vhich was done according to his persuasion. And Solon's self being present at it, was made verseer of the buildings, which he did help to levise and order in good sort, as well in respect f pleasure, as for force and defence: insomuch s many people came from other places to dwell here. And herein many other lords of the country did follow the example of this Philocyprus, who to honour Solon, called his city Soles, which before was called Æpea. Solon in his elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his words unto Philocyprus as olloweth:

Solon in Cyprus

So grant the gods, that thou, and thine offspring
May climb to great and passing princely state:
ng time to live in Soles flourishing.
And that they grant my ship and me good gate

Tables of the law

city: and he thought moreover, that both the one and the other would be more faithful to the common weal of Athens. The one of them, for that against their wills they were driven to forsake their country: and the other sort, for that advisedly and willingly they were contented to forsake it. This also was another of Solon's laws, which he ordained for those that should feast certain days at the town house of the city, at other men's cost. For he would not allow, that one man should come often to feasts there. And if any man were invited thither to the feast, and did refuse to come: he did set a fine on his head, as reproving the miserable niggardliness of the one, and the presumptuous arrogancy of the other, to contemn and despise common order. After he had made his laws, he did stablish them to continue for the space of one hundred years, and they were written in tables of wood called *axones*, which were made more long than broad, in the which they were graven: whereof there remain some monuments yet in our time, which are to be seen in the town hall of the city of Athens. Aristotle saith, that these tables were called *cyrbes*. And Cratinus also the comical poet saith in one place, of Solon and Draco: that *cyrbes* was a vessel or pan wherein they did fry millet or hirse. Howbeit others say, that *cyrbes* properly were the tables, which contained the ordinances of the sacrifices: and *axones* were the other tables, that concerned the common weal. So all the councils and magistrates together did swear, that they would keep Solon's laws them-

selves, and also cause them to be observed of others throughly and particularly. Then every one of the Thesmothetes (which were certain officers attendant on the council, and had special charge to see the laws observed) did solemnly swear in the open market place, near the stone where the proclamations are proclaimed: and every of them both promised, and vowed openly to keep the same laws, and that if any of them did in any one point break the said ordinances, then they were content that such offender should pay to the temple of Apollo, at the city of Delphes, an image of fine gold, that should weigh as much as himself. Moreover, Solon seeing the disorder of the moneths, and the moving of the moon, which followed not the course of the sun, and used not to rise and fall when the sun doth, but ofttimes in one day, it doth both touch and pass the sun: he was the first that called the change of the moon, *hene cai néa*, as much to say, as old and new moon. Allowing that which appeared before the conjunction, to be of the moneth past: and that which showed itself after the conjunction, to be of the moneth following. And he was the first also (in my opinion) that understood Homer rightly, when he said: then beginneth the moneth when it endeth. The day following the change, he called *Neomenia*, as much to say, as the new moneth, or the new moon. After the twentith day of the moneth, which they called *eicas*, he reckoned not the rest of the moneth as increasing, but as on the wane: and gathered it by seeing the light of the moon decreasing until the

The moon and the month

Solon's travel to Egypt

thirtieth day. Now after his laws were come abroad, and proclaimed, there came some daily unto him, which either praised them, or misliked them: and prayed him either to take away, or to add something unto them. Many again came and asked him how he understood some sentence of his laws: and requested him to declare his meaning, and how it should be taken. Wherefore considering how it were to no purpose to refuse to do it, and again how it would get him much envy and ill-will to yield thereunto: he determined (happen what would) to wind himself out of these briars, and to fly the groanings, complaints, and quarrels of his citizens. For he saith himself:

> Full hard it is, all minds content to have
> And specially in matters hard and grave.

So, to convey himself awhile out of the way, he took upon him to be master of a ship in a certain voyage, and asked license for ten years of the Athenians to go beyond sea, hoping by that time the Athenians would be very well acquainted with his laws. So went he to the seas, and the first place of his arrival was in Egypt, where he remained awhile, as he himself saith:

> Even there where Nilus, with his crooked cranks,
> By Canobe, falls into the sea-banks.

He went to his book there, and did confer a certain time with Psenophis Heliopolitan, and Sonchis Saitan, two of the wisest priests at that

time that were in Egypt: whom when he heard rehearse the story of the Isles Atlantides as Plato writeth, he proved to put the same into verse, and did send it abroad through Greece. At his departure out of Egypt he went into Cyprus, where he had great courtesy and friendship of one of the princes of that country, called Philocyprus, who was lord of a pretty little city which Demophon (Theseus' son) caused to be built upon the river of Clarie, and was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very lean and barren country. Whereupon Solon told him, it would do better a great deal to remove it out of that place, into a very fair and pleasant valley that lay underneath it, and there to make it larger and statelier than it was: which was done according to his persuasion. And Solon's self being present at it, was made overseer of the buildings, which he did help to devise and order in good sort, as well in respect of pleasure, as for force and defence: insomuch as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other lords of the country did follow the example of this Philocyprus, who to honour Solon, called his city Soles, which before was called Æpea. Solon in his elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his words unto Philocyprus as followeth: **Solon in Cyprus**

So grant the gods, that thou, and thine offspring
May climb to great and passing princely state:
Long time to live in Soles flourishing.
And that they grant my ship and me good gate

Solon saw King Crœsus in Sardis

When I from hence by seas shall take my way:
That with her harp, dame Venus do vouchsafe
To waft me still, until she may convey
Myself again into my country safe.
Since I have been the only mean and man,
Which here to build this city first began.

And as for the meeting and talk betwixt him and king Crœsus, I know there are that by distance of time will prove it but a fable, and devised of pleasure: but for my part I will not reject, nor condemn so famous a history, received and approved by so many grave testimonies. Moreover it is very agreeable to Solon's manners and nature, and also not unlike to his wisdom and magnanimity: although in all points it agreeth not with certain tables (which they call Chronicles) where they have busily noted the order and course of times which even to this day, many have curiously sought to correct, and could yet never discuss it, nor accord all contrarieties and manifest repugnances in the same. Solon at the desire and request of Crœsus, went to see him in the city of Sardis. When Solon was come thither, he seemed to be in the self same taking that a man was once reported to be: who being born and bred up on the mainland, and had never seen the sea neither far nor near, did imagine every river that he saw had been the sea. So Solon passing alongst Crœsus' palace, and meeting by the way many of the lords of his court richly apparelled, and carrying great trains of serving men, and soldiers about them: thought ever that one of them had been the

king, until he was brought unto Crœsus' self. Who was passing richly arrayed what for precious stones and jewels, and for rich coloured silks, laid on with curious goldsmith's work, and all to show himself to Solon in most stately, sumptuous, and magnificent manner. Who perceiving by Solon's repair to his presence, that he shewed no manner of sign, nor countenance of wondering, to see so great a state before him, neither had given out any word near or likely to that which Crœsus looked for in his own imagination, but rather had delivered speeches for men of judgement and understanding to know, how inwardly he much did mislike Crœsus' foolish vanity and base mind: then Crœsus commanded all his treasuries to be opened where his gold and silver lay, next that they should shew him his rich and sumptuous wardrobes, although that needed not: for to see Crœsus' self, it was enough to discern his nature and condition. After he had seen all over and over, being brought again unto the presence of the king: Crœsus asked him, if ever he had seen any man more happy than himself was? Solon answered him, I have: and that was one Tellus a citizen of Athens, who was a marvellous honest man, and had left his children behind him in good estimation, and well to live, and lastly, was most happy at his death, by dying honourably in the field, in defence of his country. Crœsus hearing this answer, began to judge him a man of little wit, or of gross understanding, because he did not think that to have store of gold and silver, was the only joy

Crœsus' question to Solon touching happiness

Cleobis and Biton of the world, and that h
and prove the life and death of a man m
that is more happy, than all the ri
mere power of so mighty a king. Notwithst
this, Croesus yet asked him again: W
next beside Tellus he had seen happ
himself? Solon answered him, that he
Cleobis and Biton, which were both
and loved one another singularly well,
mother in such sort: that upon a solem
day, when she should go to the temple
in her coach drawn with oxen: her
carried no long ere they could be brou
both willingly yoked themselves by th
and drew their mother's coach in ste
oxen, which marvellously rejoiced her,
was thought most happy of all other
borne two such sons. Afterwards w
had done sacrifice to the goddess, and m
cheer at the feast of this sacrifice, they
bed: but they rose not again the next
for they were found dead without suffe
or sorrow, after they had received
glory and honour. Croesus then could
bridle in his patience, but breaking out i
said unto him: Why, dost thou reckon
in no degree of happy men? Solo
neither flatter him, nor further increase
but answered him thus: O king of Lyd
gods have given us Grecians all thi
mean, and amongst other things chiefly,
and popular wisdom, not princely nor
which, considering how man's life is s
infinite changes, doth forbid us to trust

in these worldly riches. For time bringeth daily misfortunes unto man, which he never thought of, nor looked for. But when the gods have continued a man's good fortune to his end, then we think that man happy and blessed, and never before. Otherwise, if we should judge a man happy that liveth, considering he is ever in danger of change during life: we should be much like to him, who judgeth him the victory before hand, that is still a-fighting, and may be overcome, having no surety yet to carry it away. After Solon had spoken these words, he departed from the king's presence, and returned back again, leaving King Crœsus offended, but nothing the wiser, nor amended. Now Æsop that wrote the fables, being at that time in the city of Sardis, and sent for thither by the king, who entertained him very honourably: was very sorry to see that the king had given Solon no better entertainment: so by way of advice he said unto him: O Solon, either we must not come to princes at all, or else we must seek to please and content them. But Solon turning it to the contrary, answered him: Either we must not come to princes, or else we must needs tell them truly, and counsel them for the best. So Crœsus made light account of Solon at that time. But after he had lost the battle against Cyrus, and that his city was taken, himself become prisoner, and was bound fast to a gibbet, over a great stack of wood, to be burnt in the sight of all the Persians, and of Cyrus his enemy: he then cried out as loud as he could, thrice gether, O Solon! Cyrus being abashed, sent

Æsop and Solon

Crœsus and Cyrus

to ask him, whether this Solon he only cried upon in his extreme misery, was a god or man. Crœsus kept it not secret from him, but said: He was one of the wise men of Greece, whom I sent for to come unto me on a certain time, not to learn anything of him which I stood in need of, but only that he might witness my felicity, which then I did enjoy: the loss whereof is now more hurtful, than the enjoying of the same was good or profitable. But now (alas) too late I know it, that the riches I possessed then, were but words and opinion, all which are turned now to my bitter sorrow, and to present and remediless calamity. Which the wise Grecian considering then, and foreseeing afar off by my doings at that time, the instant misery I suffer now: gave me warning I should mark the end of my life, and that I should not too far presume of my self, as puffed up then with vain glory of opinion of happiness, the ground thereof being so slippery, and of so little surety. These words being reported unto Cyrus, who was wiser than Crœsus, and seeing Solon's saying confirmed by so notable an example: he did not only deliver Crœsus from present peril of death, but ever after honoured him so long as he lived. Thus had Solon glory, for saving the honour of one of these kings, and the life of the other, by his grave and wise counsel. But during the time of his absence, great seditions rose at Athens amongst the inhabitants, who had gotten them several heads amongst them: as those of the valley had made Lycurgus their head. The coast-men, Megacles, the son of Alcmæon. And

those of the mountains, Pisistratus: with whom all artificers and craftsmen living of their handy labour were joined, which were the stoutest against the rich. So that notwithstanding the city kept Solon's laws and ordinances, yet was there not that man but gaped for a change, and desired to see things in another state: either parties hoping their condition would mend by change, and that every of them should be better than their adversaries. The whole common weal broiling thus with troubles, Solon arrived at Athens, where every man did honour and reverence him: howbeit he was no more able to speak aloud in open assembly to the people, nor to deal in matters as he had done before, because his age would not suffer him: and therefore he spake with every one of the heads of the several factions apart, trying if he could agree and reconcile them together again. Whereupon Pisistratus seemed to be more willing than any of the rest, for he was courteous, and marvellous fair spoken, and shewed himself besides very good and pitiful to the poor, and temperate also to his enemies: further, if any good quality were lacking in him, he did so finely counterfeit it, that men imagined it was more in him, than in those that naturally had it in them in deed. As to be a quiet man, no meddler, contented with his own, aspiring no higher, and hating those which would attempt to change the present state of the common weal, and would practise any innovation. By this art and fine manner of his, he deceived the poor common people. Howbeit Solon found him straight, and saw the mark

Sedition at Athens in Solon's absence

Solon reproved Thespis for lying

he shot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and sought still to win him, and bring him to reason, saying oft times, both to himself, and to others: That who so could pluck out of his head the worm of ambition, by which he aspired to be the chiefest, and could heal him of his greedy desire to rule, there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better citizen than he would prove. About this time began Thespis to set out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delighted the people for the rareness thereof, being not many poets yet in number, to strive one against another for victory, as afterwards there were. Solon being naturally desirous to hear and learn, and by reason of his age seeking to pass his time away in sports, in music, and making good cheer more than ever he did: went one day to see Thespis, who played a part himself, as the old fashion of the poets was, and after the play was ended, he called him to him, and asked him: if he were not ashamed to lie so openly in the face of the world. Thespis answered him, that it was not material to do or say any such things, considering all was but in sport. Then Solon beating the ground with his staff he had in his hand: But if we commend lying in sport (quoth he) we shall find it afterwards in good earnest, in all our bargains and dealings. Shortly after Pisistratus having wounded himself, and bloodied all his body over, caused his men to carry him in his couch into the market-place, where he put the people in an uproar, and told them that they were his enemies that thus traiterously

had handled and arrayed him, for that he stood with them about the governing of the common weal: insomuch as many of them were marvellously offended, and mutinied by and by, crying out it was shamefully done. Then Solon drawing near said unto him: O thou son of Hippocrates, thou dost ill-favouredly counterfet the person of Homer's Ulysses: for thou hast whipped thyself to deceive thy citizens, as he did tear and scratch himself, to deceive his enemies. Notwithstanding this, the common people were still in uproar, being ready to take arms for Pisistratus: and there was a general council assembled, in the which one Ariston spake, that they should grant fifty men, to carry halbards and maces before Pisistratus for guard of his person. But Solon going up into the pulpit for orations, stoutly inveighed against it; and persuaded the people with many reasons, like unto these he wrote afterwards in verse: Pisistratus' craft

Each one of you (O men) in private acts
Can play the fox, for sly and subtill craft:
But when you come yfore (in all your facts)
Then are you blind, dull-witted, and bedaft,
For pleasant speech, and painted flattery,
Beguile you still, the which you never spy.

But in the end, seeing the poor people did tumult still, taking Pisistratus' part, and that the rich fled here and there, he went his way also, saying: he had shewed himself wiser than some, and hardier than other. Meaning, wiser than those which saw not Pisistratus' reach and fetch: and hardier than they which knew very

Solon's liberty and constancy

well he did aspire to be king, and yet nevertheless durst not resist him. The people went on with the motion of Ariston, and authorised the same, touching the grant of halbarders: limiting no number, but suffered him to have about him and to assemble, as many as he would, until such time as he had gotten possession of the castle. Then the city was marvellously afraid and amazed: and presently Megacles, and all those which were of the house of the Alcmeonides did fly. Solon, who for years was now at his last cast, and had no man to stick unto him, went notwithstanding into the market-place, and spake to the citizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beastliness, and faint cowardly hearts, and encouraged them not to lose their liberty. He spake at that time notably, and worthy memory, which ever after was remembred. Before, said he, you might more easily have stayed this present tyranny: but now that it is already fashioned, you shall win more glory, utterly to suppress it. But for all his goodly reasons, he found no man that would hearken to him, they were all so amazed. Wherefore he hied him home again, and took his weapons out of his house, and laid them before his gate in the midst of the street, saying: For my part, I have done what I can possible, to help and defend the laws and liberties of my country. So from that time he betook himself unto his ease, and never after dealt any more in matters of state, or common weal. His friends did counsel him to fly: but all they could not persuade him to it. For

he kept his house, and gave himself to make verses; in which he sore reproved the Athenians' faults, saying: **Moderation of Pisistratus**

If presently your burden heavy be:
Yet murmur not against the gods therefore.
The fault is yours, as you yourselves may see,
Which granted have of mighty Mars the lore
To such as now by your direction
Do hold your necks in this subjection.

His friends hereupon did warn him, to beware of such speeches, and to take heed what he said: lest if it came unto the tyrant's ears, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherein he trusted, that he spake so boldly. He answered them, In my age. Howbeit Pisistratus after he had obtained his purpose, sending for him upon his word and faith, did honour and entertain him so well, that Solon in the end became one of his council, and approved many things which he did. For Pisistratus himself did straightly keep, and caused his friends to keep Solon's laws. Insomuch as when he was called by process into the court of the Areopagites for a murther, even at that time when he was a tyrant: he presented himself very modestly to answer his accusation, and to purge himself thereof. But his accuser let fall the matter, and followed it no further. Pisistratus himself also did make new laws: as this. That he that had been maimed, and made lame of any member in the wars, should be maintained all his life long, at the common charges of the city. The self same was before decreed by Thersippus (as Heraclides writeth)

Solon's poetry

by Solon's persuasion: who did prefer it to the council. Pisistratus afterwards took hold of the motion, and from thenceforth made it a general law. Theophrastus saith also, it was Pisistratus, and not Solon, that made the law for idleness: which was the only cause that the country of Attica became more fruitful, being better manured, and the city of Athens waxed more quiet. But Solon having begun to write the story of the Isles Atlantides in verse (which he had learned of the wise men of the city of Sais in Egypt, and was very necessary for the Athenians) grew weary, and gave it over in mid way: not for any matters or business that troubled him, as Plato said, but only for his age, and because he feared the tediousness of the work. For otherwise he had leisure enough, as appeareth by these verses where he saith:

I grow old, and yet I learn still.

And in another place where he saith,

Now Venus yields me sweet delights,
And Bacchus lends me comfort still:
The Muses eke, refresh my sprights,
And much relieve my weary will.
These be the points of perfect ease,
Which all men's minds ofttimes do please.

Plato afterwards for beautifying of the story and fables of the Isles of Atlantides, was desirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by way of speech have broken up a field or lay land of his own, or that this gift had descended to him of right from Solon. He

began to raise up a stately front unto the same, and enclosed it with high walls, and large squared courts at the entry thereof: such was it, as never any other work, fable, or poetical invention had ever so notable, or the like. But because he began a little too late, he ended his life before his work, leaving the readers more sorrowful for that was left unwritten, than they took pleasure in that they found written. For even as in the city of Athens, the temple of Jupiter Olympian only remained unperfect: so the wisdom of Plato (amongest many goodly matters of his that have come abroad) left none of them unperfect, but the only tale of the Isles Atlantides. Solon lived a long time after Pisistratus had usurped the tyranny, as Heraclides Ponticus writeth. Howbeit Phanias Ephesian writeth, that he lived not above two years after. For Pisistratus usurped tyrannical power in the year that Comias was chief governor in Athens. And Phanias writeth, that Solon died in the year that Hegestratus was governor, which was the next year after that. And where some say, the ashes of his body were after his death strawed abroad through the isle of Salamis: that seemeth to be but a fable, and altogether untrue. Nevertheless it hath been written by many notable authors, and amongst others, by Aristotle the philosopher.

Solon's death

Solon's travel to Egypt

thirtieth day. Now after his laws were come abroad, and proclaimed, there came some daily unto him, which either praised them, or misliked them: and prayed him either to take away, or to add something unto them. Many again came and asked him how he understood some sentence of his laws: and requested him to declare his meaning, and how it should be taken. Wherefore considering how it were to no purpose to refuse to do it, and again how it would get him much envy and ill-will to yield thereunto: he determined (happen what would) to wind himself out of these briars, and to fly the groanings, complaints, and quarrels of his citizens. For he saith himself:

> Full hard it is, all minds content to have
> And specially in matters hard and grave.

So, to convey himself awhile out of the way, he took upon him to be master of a ship in a certain voyage, and asked license for ten years of the Athenians to go beyond sea, hoping by that time the Athenians would be very well acquainted with his laws. So went he to the seas, and the first place of his arrival was in Egypt, where he remained awhile, as he himself saith:

> Even there where Nilus, with his crooked cranks,
> By Canobe, falls into the sea-banks.

He went to his book there, and did confer a certain time with Psenophis Heliopolitan, and Sonchis Saitan, two of the wisest priests at that

time that were in Egypt: whom when he heard rehearse the story of the Isles Atlantides as Plato writeth, he proved to put the same into verse, and did send it abroad through Greece. At his departure out of Egypt he went into Cyprus, where he had great courtesy and friendship of one of the princes of that country, called Philocyprus, who was lord of a pretty little city which Demophon (Theseus' son) caused to be built upon the river of Clarie, and was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very lean and barren country. Whereupon Solon told him, it would do better a great deal to remove it out of that place, into a very fair and pleasant valley that lay underneath it, and there to make it larger and statelier than it was: which was done according to his persuasion. And Solon's self being present at it, was made overseer of the buildings, which he did help to devise and order in good sort, as well in respect of pleasure, as for force and defence: insomuch as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other lords of the country did follow the example of this Philocyprus, who to honour Solon, called his city Soles, which before was called Æpea. Solon in his elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his words unto Philocyprus as followeth: **Solon in Cyprus**

So grant the gods, that thou, and thine offspring
May climb to great and passing princely state:
Long time to live in Soles flourishing.
And that they grant my ship and me good gate

The first ambassiate of King Tarquin

Tarquinius Collatinus would for no respect yield unto them. Valerius took this matter grievously, but they had a mistrust in him, as if he would not do anything he could, for the benefit of his country: for that he had never any private injury offered him by the tyrants. Wherefore, he repaired no more unto the Senate to plead for private men, and wholly gave up to meddle in matters of state: insomuch as he gave many occasion to think of his absence, and it troubled some men much, who feared lest upon this his misliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the king's side, and so bring all the city in an uproar, considering it stood then but in very tickle terms. But when Brutus, who stood in jealousy of some, would by oath be assured of the Senate, and had appointed them a day solemnly to take their oaths upon the sacrifices: Valerius then with a good cheerful countenance came into the market-place, and was the first that took his oath he would leave nothing undone that might prejudice the Tarquins, but with all his able power he would fight against them, and defend the liberty of the city. This oath of his marvellously rejoiced the Senate, and gave great assurance also to the consuls, but specially, because his deeds did shortly after perform his words. For there came ambassadors to Rome which brought letters from King Tarquin, full of sweet and lowly speeches, to win the favour of the people, with commission to use all the mildest means they could, to dulce and soften the hardened hearts of the multitude: who declared how the

king had left all pride and cruelty, and meant to ask nought but reasonable things. The consuls thought best to give them open audience, and to suffer them to speak to the people. But Valerius was against it, declaring it might peril the state much, and deliver occasion of new stir unto a multitude of poor people, which were more afraid of wars, than of tyranny. After that, there came other ambassadors also, which said that Tarquin would from henceforth for ever give over and renounce his title to the kingdom, and to make any more wars, but besought them only, that they would at the least deliver him and his friends their money and goods, that they might have wherewithal to keep them in their banishment. Many came on apace, and were very ready to yield to this request, and specially Collatinus, one of the consuls who did favour their motion. But Brutus that was a fast and resolute man, and very fierce in his heart, ran immediately into the market-place, crying out that his fellow consul was a traitor, and contented to grant the tyrants matter and means to make war upon the city, where indeed they deserved not so much, as to be relieved in their exile. Hereupon the people assembled together, and the first that spake in this assembly, was a private man called Gaius Minucius, who speaking unto Brutus, and to the whole assembly, said unto them. Oh noble Consul and Senate, handle so the matter, that the tyrant's goods be rather in your custody to make war with them, than in theirs, to bring

Another ambassiate demanding his goods

Solon reproved Thespis for lying

he shot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and sought still to win him, and bring him to reason, saying oft times, both to himself, and to others: That who so could pluck out of his head the worm of ambition, by which he aspired to be the chiefest, and could heal him of his greedy desire to rule, there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better citizen than he would prove. About this time began Thespis to set out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delighted the people for the rareness thereof, being not many poets yet in number, to strive one against another for victory, as afterwards there were. Solon being naturally desirous to hear and learn, and by reason of his age seeking to pass his time away in sports, in music, and making good cheer more than ever he did: went one day to see Thespis, who played a part himself, as the old fashion of the poets was, and after the play was ended, he called him to him, and asked him: if he were not ashamed to lie so openly in the face of the world. Thespis answered him, that it was not material to do or say any such things, considering all was but in sport. Then Solon beating the ground with his staff he had in his hand: But if we commend lying in sport (quoth he) we shall find it afterwards in good earnest, in all our bargains and dealings. Shortly after Pisistratus having wounded himself, and bloodied all his body over, caused his men to carry him in his couch into the market-place, where he put the people in an uproar, and told them that they were his enemies that thus traiterously

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Solon's poetry

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Solon's death

Collatinus resigneth his consulship

way through the prease, laid hands upon him to bring him away with them, and began to strike at them which offered to resist them. But Valerius' friends stept out before them, and put them by. The people shouted straight, and cried out for Brutus: who with this noise returned again into the market place, and after silence made him, he spake in this wise. For mine own children, I alone have been their sufficient judge, to see them have the law according to their deservings: the rest I have left freely to the judgement of the people. Wherefore (said he) if any man be disposed to speak, let him stand up and persuade the people as he thinketh best. Then there needed no more words, but only to harken what the people cried: who with one voice and consent condemned them, and cried execution, and accordingly they had their heads stricken off. Now was consul Collatinus long before had in some suspicion, as allied to the kings, and disliked for his surname, because he was called Tarquinius: who perceiving himself in this case much hated and mistrusted of the people, voluntarily yielded up his consulship, and departed the city. The people assembling then themselves, to place a successor in his room: they chose Valerius in his room, without the contradiction of any, for his faithful travail and diligence bestowed in this great matter. Then Valerius judging that Vindicius the bondman had well deserved also some recompense, caused him not only to be manumissed by the whole grant of the people, but made him a free man of the city besides: and he was the

first bondman manumissed, that was made citizen of Rome, with permission also to give his voice in all elections of officers, in any company or tribe he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, Appius to curry favour with the common people, made it lawful for bondmen manumissed, to give their voices also in elections, as other citizens did: and unto this day the perfect manumissing and freeing of bondmen, is called *vindicta*, after the name of this Vindicius, that was then made a free man. These things thus passed over, the goods of the kings were given to the spoil of the people, and their palaces were razed and overthrown. Now amongst other lands, the goodliest part of the field of Mars was belonging unto King Tarquin: the same they consecrated forthwith unto the god Mars, and not long before they had cut down the wheat thereof. The sheaves being yet in shocks in the field, they thought they might not grind the wheat, nor make any commodity of the profit thereof: wherefore they threw both corn and sheaves into the river, and trees also which they had hewn down and rooted up, to the end that the field being dedicated to the god Mars, should be left bare, without bearing any fruit at all. These sheaves thus thrown into the river, were carried down by the stream not far from thence, unto a ford and shallow place of the water, where they first did stay, and did let the other which came after, that it could go no further: there these heaps gathered

Tarquinius' field consecrated to Mars

Whereof the Holy Island came in Rome

together, and lay so close one to another, that they began to sink and settle fast in the water. Afterwards the stream of the river brought down continually such mud and gravel, that it ever increased the heap of corn more and more in such sort, that the force of the water could no more remove it from thence, but rather softly pressing it and driving it together, did firm and harden it, and made it grow so to land. Thus this heap rising still in greatness and firmness, by reason that all that came down the river stayed there, it grew in the end, and by time to spread so far, that at this day it is called the Holy Island in Rome: in which are many goodly temples of divers gods, and sundry walks about it, and they call it in Latin, *Inter duos pontes:* in our tongue, between the two bridges. Yet some write, that this thing fell not out at that time when the field of the Tarquins was consecrated unto Mars: but that it happened afterwards, when one of the vestal nuns, called Tarquinia, gave a field of hers unto the people, which was hard adjoining unto Tarquin's field. For which liberality and bounty of hers, they did grant her in recompence many privileges, and did her great honour besides. As amongst others it was ordained, that her word and witness should stand good, and be allowed, in matters judicial: which privilege, never woman besides herself did enjoy. By special grace of the people also, it was granted her that she might marry if she thought it good: but yet she would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you hear the

ort how this thing happened. Tarquin n being past hope of ever entring into his gdom again, went yet unto the Tuscans for cour, which were very glad of him: and so y levied a great army together, hoping to e put him in his kingdom again. The con- also hearing thereof, went out with their ıy against him. Both the armies presented mselves in battell ray, one against another, the holy places consecrated to the gods: ereof the one was called the wood Arsia, l the other the meadow Æsuvian. And as h armies began to give charge upon each er, Aruns the eldest son of king Tarquin, l the consul Brutus encountered together, not chance, but sought for of set purpose to cute the deadly feud and malice they did r each other. The one, as against a tyrant l enemy of the liberty of his country: the er as against him that had been chief author l worker of their exile and expulsion. So y set spurs to their horses, so soon as they l spied each other, with more fury than son, and fought so desperately together, that y both fell stark dead to the ground. The t onset of the battell being so cruel, the end reof was no less bloody: until both the ıies having received and done like damage to h other, were parted by a marvellous great ıpest that fell upon them. Now was Valerius rvellously perplexed, for that he knew not ich of them wan the field that day: seeing soldiers as sorrowful for the great loss of ir men lying dead before them, as they were

A great power of Tuscans wage war with the Romans

The victory of the Romans against the Tuscans

glad of the slaughter and victory of their enemies. For, to view the multitude of the slain bodies of either side, the number was so equal in sight, that it was very hard to judge, of which side fell out the greatest slaughter: so that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remain of their camp, were persuaded in their opinion, that they had rather lost than won, conjecturing afar off the fall of their enemies. The night being come, such things fell out, as may be looked for after so terrible a battell. For when both camps were all laid to rest, they say the wood wherein they lay encamped, quaked and trembled: and they heard a voice say, that only one man more was slain on the Tuscans' side, than on the Romans' part. Out of doubt this was some voice from heaven: for the Romans thereupon gave a shrill shout, as those whose hearts received a new quickening spirit or courage. The Tuscans on the contrary part were so afraid, that the most part of them stole out of the camp, and scattered here and there: and there remained behind about the number of five thousand men, whom the Romans took prisoners every one, and had the spoil of their camp. The carcasses were viewed afterwards, and they found that there were slain in that battell eleven thousand and three hundred of the Tuscans: and of the Romans, so many saving one. This battell was fought (as they say) the last day of February, and the consul Valerius triumphed, being the first of the consuls that ever entered into Rome triumphing upon a chariot drawn with four

es, which sight the people found honourable goodly to behold, and were not offended al (as some seem to report) nor yet did him for that he began it. For if it had so, that custom had not been followed so good acceptation, nor had continued so y years as it did afterwards. They much mended also the honour he did to his w-consul Brutus, in setting out his funerals obsequies, at the which he made a funeral ion in his praise. They did so like and se the Romans, that they have ever since inued that custom at the burial of any e man, or great personage, that he is openly sed at his burial, by the worthiest man that h among them. They report this funeral ion is far more ancient than the first that made in Greece in the like case: unless will confirm that which the orator Anaxi- es hath written, that the manner of praising dead at their funerals, was first of all tuted by Solon. But they did most envy erius, and bear him grudge, because Brutus om the people did acknowledge for father heir liberty) would never be alone in office, had procured twice, that they should appoint erius fellow-consul with him. This man in rariwise (said the people) taking upon him e the rule and sovereignty, sheweth plainly will not be Brutus' successor in his consul- , but Tarquinius self in the kingdom. For great purpose was it to praise Brutus in ls, and to follow Tarquinius in deeds: ng borne before himself only all the maces,

Triu and funer orati

Valerius a good example for magistrates

the axes and the rods, when he cometh abroad out of his own house, which is far greater, and more stately, than the king's palace which he himself overthrew. And to say truly, Valerius dwelt in a house a little too sumptuously built and seated, upon the hanging of the hill called Mount Velia: and because it stood high, it overlooked all the market-place, so that any man might easily see from thence what was done there. Furthermore, it was very ill to come to it: but when he came out of his house, it was a marvellous pomp and state to see him come down from so high a place, and with a train after him, that carried the majesty of a king's court. But herein Valerius left a noble example, shewing how much it importeth a noble man and magistrate, ruling weighty causes, to have his ears open to hear, and willingly to receive free speech in stead of flatteries, and plain troth in place of lies. For, being informed by some of his friends how the people misliked and complained of it, he stood not in his own conceit, neither was angry with them: but forthwith set a world of workmen upon it, early in the morning before break of day, and commanded them to pluck down his house, and to raze it to the ground. Insomuch as the next day following, when the Romans were gathered together in the market-place, and saw this great sodain ruin, they much commended the noble act and mind of Valerius, in doing that he did: but so were they angry, and sorry both, to see so fair and stately a built house (which was an ornament to the city) overthrown upon a sodain

ıch like in comparison to a man, whom ough spite and envy they had unjustly put to ıth: and to see their chief magistrate also e a stranger and a vagabond, compelled to k his lodging in another man's house. For friends received him into their houses, until h time as the people had given him a place, ere they did build him a new house, far re orderly, and nothing so stately and curious the first was, and it was in the same place, ere the temple called Vicus Publicus standeth this day. Now because he would not only ɔrm his person, but the office of his ısulship, and also would frame himself to the ɔd acceptation and liking of the people: ere before he seemed unto them to be fearful, put away the carrying of the axes from the ls, which the sergeants used to bear before consul. Moreover when he came into the rket-place, where the people were assembled, caused the rods to be borne downwards, in token of reverence of the sovereign jesty of the people: which all the magistrates erve yet at this day. Now in all this nble shew and lowliness of his, he did not so ch debase his dignity and greatness, which common people thought him to have at the t: as he did thereby cut off envy from him, ıning again as much true authority, as in ıblance he would seem to have lost. For made the people more willing to obey, and lier to submit themselves unto him: insomuch upon this occasion he was surnamed Publicola, much to say, as the people-pleaser. Which

Why Valerius was surnamed Publicola

Publicola's acts and laws

surname he kept ever after, and we from henceforth also writing the rest of his life, will use no other name: for he was contented to suffef any man that would, to offer himself to ask the consulship in Brutus' place. But he yet not knowing what kind of man they would join fellow-consul with him, and fearing lest through envy or ignorance, the party might thwart his purpose and meaning: employed his sole power and authority whilest he ruled alone, upon high and noble attempts. For first of all he supplied up the number of Senators that were greatly decayed, because King Tarquin had put some of them to death not long before, and other also had been lately slain in the wars: in whose places he had chosen new Senators, to the number of a hundred three score and four. After that, he made new decrees and laws, which greatly did advance the authority of the people. The first law gave liberty to all offenders, condemned by judgement of the consuls, to appeal unto the people. The second, that no man upon pain of death should take upon him the exercise of any office, unless he had come to it by the gift of the people. The third was, and all in favour of the poor, that the poor citizens of Rome should pay no more custom, nor any impost whatsoever. This made every man the more willing to give himself to some craft or occupation, when he saw his travail should not be taxed, nor taken from him. As for the law that he made against those that disobeyed the consuls, it was found to be so favourable to the communalty, as they thought it

was rather made for the poor, than for the rich and great men. For the offenders and breakers of that law, were condemned to pay for a penalty, the value of five oxen, and two muttons. The price of a mutton was then, ten obols, and of an ox, a hundred obols. For in those days, the Romans had no store of coined money: otherwise, they lacked no sheep, nor other rother beasts. Hereof it came, that to this day they call their riches or substance, *peculium*, because *pecus* signifieth sheep and muttons. And in the old time the stamp upon their money was an ox, a mutton, or a hog: and some of them called their children *bubulci*, which signifieth cowherds: others *caprarii*, to say goatherds: and others *porcii*, as you would say, swineherds. Now though in all his other laws, he was very favourable and temperate toward the people: yet in that moderation, sometimes he did set grievous pains and punishments. For he made it lawful to kill any man without any accusation, that did aspire to the kingdom, and he did set the murderer free of all punishment: so he brought forth manifest proof, that the party slain, had practised to make himself king. As being impossible a man should pretend so great a matter, and no man should find it: and contrariwise being possible, albeit he were spied, that otherwise he might attempt it, by making himself so strong, that he needed not pass for the law. In this case he gave every man liberty by such act or mean, to prevent him if he could of discretion, who by strength otherwise sought to aspire to reign. They greatly commended him

A law against those who would be kings

The collection of revenue

also for the law that he made touching the treasure. For being very necessary that every private citizen should according to his ability, be contributer to the charges and maintenance of the wars: he himself would neither take such collection into his charge, nor suffer any man of his to meddle with the same, nor yet that it should be laid in any private man's house, but he did ordain that Saturn's temple should be the treasury thereof. This order they keep to this present day. Furthermore, he granted the people to choose two young men Quæstors of the same, as you would say the treasurers, to take the charge of this money: and the two first which were chosen, were Publius Veturius, and Marcus Minucius, who gathered great sums of money together. For numbring the people by the poll, there were found a hundred and thirty thousand persons which had paid subsidy, not reckoning in this account, orphans, nor widows, which were exempted from all payments. After he had established all these things, he caused Lucretius (the father of Lucretia) to be chosen fellow-consul with him, unto whom, for that he was his ancient, he gave the upper hand, and commanded they should carry before him the rods, which were the signs of the chief magistrate: and ever since they have given this honour unto age. But Lucretius dying not long after his election, they chose again in his place Marcus Horatius, who held out the consulship with Publicola the rest of the year. Now about that time King Tarquin remained in the country of Tuscany, where he prepared a second army

against the Romans, and there fell out a marvellous strange thing thereupon. For when he reigned king of Rome, he had almost made an end of the building of the temple of Jupiter Capitoline, and was determined (whether by any oracle received, or upon any phantasy it is not known) to set up a coach of earth baked by a potter, in the highest place of the temple, and he put it out to be done by certain Tuscan workmen of the city of Veies: but whilst they were in hand with the work, he was driven out of his realm. When the workmen had formed this coach, and that they had put it into the fornace to bake it, it fell out contrary to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their work put into the fornace. For the earth did not shut and close together in the fire, nor dried up all the moisture thereof: but rather to the contrary it did swell to such a bigness, and grew so hard and strong withal, that they were driven to break up the head and walls of the fornace to get it out. The sooth-sayers did expound this, that it was a celestial token from above, and promised great prosperity and increase of power unto those, that should enjoy this coach. Whereupon the Veieans resolved not to deliver it unto the Romans that demanded it, but answered that it did belong unto King Tarquin, and not unto those that had banished him. Not many days after, there was a solemn feast of games for running of horses in the city of Veies, where they did also many other notable acts, worthy sight according to their custom. But after the game was played, he that

A marvellous coach of earth

The horses run away with it to Rome

had won the bell, being crowned in token victory as they did use at that time, brought h coach and horses fair and softly out of th shew-place: and sodainly the horse being affrai upon no present cause or occasion seen, whethe it was by chance, or by some secret workin from above, ran as they had been mad wit their coach to the city of Rome. The coach driver did what he could possible at the first t stay them, by holding in the reins, by clappin them on the backs, and speaking gently to them but in the end, perceiving he could do no gooc and that they would have their swing, he gav place to their fury, and they never left running till they brought him near to the Capitol, whe they overthrew him and his coach, not far fro the gate called at this present, Ratumena. Th Veians wondering much at this matter, and bein afraid withal, were contented the workme should deliver their coach made of earth unt the Romans. Now concerning Jupiter Capitoline temple, King Tarquin the first (which was th son of Demaratus) vowed in the wars that h made against the Sabines, that he would build i And Tarquin the Proud, being the son of hi that made this vow, did build it: howbeit h did not consecrate it, because he was driven ou of his kingdom before he had finished it. Whe this temple was built and throughly finishec and set forth with all his ornaments: Publicol was marvellously desirous to have the honour c the dedication thereof. But the noble men an Senators envying his glory, being very angr that he could not content himself with all thos

honours that he had received in peace, for the good laws he had made, and in wars for the victories he had obtained and well deserved, but further that he would seek the honour of this dedication, which nothing did pertain unto him: they then did egg Horatius, and persuaded him to make suit for the same. Occasion fell out at that time, that Publicola must have the leading of the Romans' army into the field: in the mean time, while Publicola was absent, it was procured that the people gave their voices to Horatius, to consecrate the temple, knowing they could not so well have brought it to pass he being present. Other say, the consuls drew lots between them, and that it lighted upon Publicola to lead the army against his will, and upon Horatius to consecrate this temple, which may be conjectured by the thing that fortuned in the dedication thereof. For all the people being assembled together in the Capitol with great silence, on the fifteenth day of the moneth of September, which is about the new moon of the moneth which the Grecians call *Metageitnion*: Horatius having done all the ceremonies needful in such a case, and holding then the doors of the temple, as the use was even to utter the solemn words of dedication: Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, having stood a long time there at the temple door, to take an opportunity to speak, began to say aloud in this wise: My lord consul, your son is dead of a sickness in the camp. This made all the assembly sorry to hear it, but it nothing amazed Horatius, who spake only thus

Dedication of the Capitoline temple

How oft the Capitoline was burnt

much: Cast his body then where you will for me, the thought is taken. So he continued on to end his consecration. This was but a device and nothing true, of Marcus Valerius, only to make Horatius leave off his consecration. Horatius in this shewed himself a marvellous resolute man, were it that he straight found his device, or that he believed it to be true: for the sodainness of the matter nothing altered him. The very like matter fell out in consecrating of the second temple. For this first which Tarquin had built and Horatius consecrated, was consumed by fire in the civil wars: and the second was built up again by Sulla, who made no dedication of it. For Catulus set up the superscription of the dedication, because Sulla died before he could dedicate it. The second temple was burnt again not long after the troubles and tumults which were at Rome, under Vitellius the emperor. The third in like manner was re-edified and built again by Vespasian, from the ground to the top. But this good hap he had above others: to see his work perfected and finished before his death, and not overthrown as it was immediately after his death. Wherein he did far pass the happiness of Sulla, who died before he could dedicate that he had built: and the other deceased before he saw his work overthrown. For all the Capitol was burnt to the ground incontinently after his death. It is reported the only foundations of the first temple, cost Tarquinius forty thousand *pondos* of silver. And to gild only the temple which we see now in our time, they say all the goods and substance

that the richest citizen of Rome then had, will come nothing near unto it: for it cost above twelve thousand talents. The pillars of this temple are cut out of a quarry of marble, called pentlike marble, and they were squared parpine, as thick as long: these I saw at Athens. But afterwards they were cut again, and polished in Rome, by which doing they got not so much grace, as they lost proportion: for they were made too slender, and left naked of their first beauty. Now he that would wonder at the stately building of the Capitol, if he came afterwards unto the palace of Domitian, and did but see some gallery, porch, hall, or hothouse, or his concubines' chambers: he would say (in my opinion) as the poet Epicharmus said of a prodigal man: The Capitol

> It is a fault and folly both in thee
> To lash out gifts, and prodigal rewards:
> For fond delights without all rule that be,
> Regarding not what happens afterwards.

So might they justly say of Domitian: Thou art not liberal, nor devout unto the gods: but it is a vice thou hast to love to build, and desirest (as they say of old Midas) that all about thee were turned to gold, and precious stones. And thus much for this matter. Tarquin after that great foughten battell wherein he lost his son (that was slain by Brutus in fighting together hand to hand) went to the city of Clusium, unto King Claras Porsena: the mightiest prince that reigned at that time in all Italy, and was both noble and a courteous prince. Porsena

Porsena proclaimeth wars with Rome

promised him aid: and first of all he sen
Rome to summon the citizens to receive t
king again. But the Romans refusing
summons, he sent forthwith an herald to
claim open wars against them, and to tell t
where, and when he would meet them: and
marched thitherwards immediately with a g
army. Publicola now being absent, was ch
consul the second time, and Titus Lucr
with him. When he was returned home a
to Rome, because he would exceed
Porsena in greatness of mind, he began to b
a city called Sigliuria, even when the king
all his army was not far from Rome:
having walled it about to his marvellous cha
he sent thither seven hundred citizens to d
there, to shew that he made little account
this war. Howbeit Porsena at his coming
give such a lusty assault to the Mount Janicu
that they drove out the soldiers which kept
same: who flying towards Rome, were pur
so hard with the enemies, that with them
had entered the town, had not Publicola mad
sally out to resist them. Who began a
skirmish hard by the river of Tiber, and t
sought to have stayed the enemies to follow
further: which being the greater number,
overlay the Romans, and did hurt Publicola
sore in this skirmish, so as he was carried a
into the city in his soldiers' arms. And
so was the other consul Lucretius hurt in
case: which so discouraged and frayed
Romans, that they all took them to their
and fled towards the city. The enemies pur

them at their heels as far as the wooden bridge: so that the city was in marvellous hazard of taking upon the sudden. But Horatius Cocles, and Herminius, and Lucretius, two other of the chiefest noble young men of the city, stood with them to the defence of the bridge, and made head against the enemy. This Horatius was surnamed Cocles (as much to say, as one eye) because he had lost one of them in the wars. Howbeit other writers say, it was because of his flat nose which was so sunk into his head, that they saw nothing to part his eyes, but that the eyebrows did meet together: by reason whereof the people thinking to surname him Cyclops, by corruption of the tongue they called him (as they say) Cocles. But howsoever it was, this Horatius Cocles had the courage to shew his face against the enemy, and to keep the bridge, until such time as they had cut and broken it up behind him. When he saw they had done that, armed as he was, and hurt in the hip with a pike of the Tuscans, he leaped into the river of Tiber, and saved himself by swimming unto the other side. Publicola wondering at this manly act of his, persuaded the Romans straight, every one according to his ability, to give him so much as he spent in a day: and afterwards also he caused the common treasury to give him as much land as he could compass about with his plow in a day. Furthermore he made his image of brass to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, comforting by this honour his wounded hip, whereof he was lame ever after. Now whilst King Porsena was hotly bent, very

How they kept the bridge

Mucius the left-handed

straightly to besiege Rome, there began a famine among the Romans: and to increase the danger, there came a new army out of Tuscany, which overran, burnt, and made waste, all the territory of Rome. Whereupon Publicola being chosen consul, then the third time, thought he should need to do no more to resist Porsena bravely, but to be quiet only, and to look well to the safe keeping of the city. Howbeit spying his opportunity, he secretly stole out of Rome with a power, and did set upon the Tuscans that destroyed the country about: and overthrew and slew of them, five thousand men. As for the history of Mucius, many do diversely report it: but I will write it in such sort, as I think shall best agree with the truth. This Mucius was a worthy man in all respects, but specially for the wars. He devising how he might come to kill King Porsena, disguised himself in Tuscan apparel, and speaking Tuscan very perfectly, went into his camp, and came to the king's chair, in the which he gave audience: and not knowing him perfectly, he durst not ask which was he, lest he should be discovered, but drew his sword at a venture, and slew him whom he took to be king. Upon that they laid hold on him, and examined him. And a pan full of fire being brought for the king that intended to do sacrifice unto the gods, Mucius held out his right hand over the fire, and boldly looking the king full in his face, whilst the flesh of his hand did fry off, he never changed hue nor contenance: the king wondering to see so strange a sight, called to them to withdraw the fire, and he

himself did deliver him his sword again. Mucius took it of him with his left hand, whereupon they say afterwards, he had given him the surname of Scæuola, as much to say, as left-handed, and told him in taking of it: Thou couldst not, Porsena, for fear have overcome me, but now through courtesy thou hast won me. Therefore for good will I will reveal that unto thee, which no force nor extremity could have made me utter. There are three hundred Romans dispersed through thy camp, all which are prepared with like minds to follow that I have begun, only gaping for opportunity to put it in practice. The lot fell on me to be the first to break the ice of this enterprise: and yet I am not sorry my hand failed to kill so worthy a man, that deserveth rather to be a friend than an enemy unto the Romans. Porsena hearing this, did believe it, and ever after he gave the more willing care to those that treated with him of peace: not so much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in wait to kill him, as for the admiration of the Roman's noble mind and great courage. All other writers call this man, Mucius Scæuola: howbeit, Athenodorus surnamed Sandon, in a book he wrote unto Octavia, Augustus' sister, saith that he was also called Opsigonus. But Publicola taking king Porsena not to be so dangerous an enemy to Rome, as he should be a profitable friend and ally to the same: let him understand that he was contented to make him judge of the controversy between them and Tarquin. Whom he

Publicola makes Porsena arbitrator

The liberality of King Porsena

couraged the others to follow her. One pointed him unto her, and told him her name was Clælia. He looked upon her very earnestly, and with a pleasant countenance, and commanded they should bring him one of his best horses in the stable, and the richest furniture he had for the same, and so he gave it unto her. Those which hold opinion that none but Clælia passed the river on horseback, do allege this to prove their opinion true. Other do deny it, saying that this Tuscan king, did only honour her noble courage. Howsoever it was, they see her image on horseback in the Holy Street, as they go to the palace: and some say it is the statue of Valeria, others of Clælia. After Porsena had made peace with the Romans, in breaking up his camp, he shewed his noble mind unto them in many other things, and specially in that he commanded his soldiers they should carry nothing but their armour and weapon only, leaving his camp full of corn, victuals, and other kind of goods. From whence this custom came, that at this day when they make open sale of anything belonging to the common weal, the sergeant or common crier crieth, that they are King Porsena's goods, and taken of thankfulness and perpetual memory of his bounty and liberality towards them. Further, Porsena's image standeth adjoining to the palace where the Senate is used to be kept, which is made of great antique work. Afterwards the Sabines invading the Romans territory with a great force, Marcus Valerius Publicola's brother, was then chosen consul, with one Postumius Tubertus. How-

beit all matters of weight and importance passed by Publicola's counsel and authority, who was present at anything that was done: and by whose means Marcus his brother wan two great battels, in the last whereof he slew thirteen thousand of his enemies, not losing one of his own men. For which his victories, besides the honour of triumph he had, the people also at their own charges, built him a house in the street of Mount Palatine, and granted him moreover that his door should open outwards into the street, where all other men's doors did open inwards into their house: signifying by grant of this honour and privilege, that he should always have benefit by the common-weal. It is reported that the Grecian's doors of their houses in olden time, did all open outwards after that fashion, and they do conjecture it by the comedies that are played. Where those that would go out of their houses, did first knock at their doors, and make a noise within the house, lest in opening their door upon a sudden, they might overthrow or hurt him that tarried at the street door, or passed by the way: who hearing the noise, had warning straight to avoid the danger. The next year after that, Publicola was chosen consul the fourth time, because they stood in great doubt that the Sabines and Latins would join together to make wars upon them: besides all this, there was a certain superstitious fear ran through the city, of some ill-hap toward it, because most part of the women with child were delivered of unperfect children, lacking some limb or other, and all of them came before their time. Wherefore

Publicola consul the fourth time

Appius Clausus and the Sabines

Publicola looking in some of Sibylla's books, made private sacrifice unto Pluto, and did set up again some feasts and solemn games that were left off, and had been commanded before time to be kept by the oracle of Apollo. These means having a little rejoiced the city with good hope, because they thought that the anger of the gods had been appeased: Publicola then began to provide for the dangers that they were threatned withal by men, for that news was brought him that their enemies were up in all places, and made great preparation to invade them. Now there was at that time amongst the Sabines, a great rich man called Appius Clausus, very strong and active of body, and otherwise a man of great reputation and eloquence, above all the rest of his countrymen: but notwithstanding he was much envied, and could not avoid it, being a thing common to great men. He went about to stay those intended wars against the Romans. Whereupon, many which before took occasion to murmur against him, did now much more increase the same: with saying he ought to maintain the power of the Romans, that afterwards by their aid he might make himself tyrant and king of the country. The common people gave easy ear unto such speeches, and Appius perceiving well enough how the soldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would complain and accuse him. Wherefore being well backed and stood to by his kinsmen, friends, and followers, he practised to make a stir among the Sabines, which was the cause of staying the wars against the Romans. Publicola also for his

rt was very diligent, not only to understand e original cause of this sedition, but to feed further and increase the same, having gotten en meet for the purpose, which carried Appius ch a message from him. That Publicola knew ry well he was a just man, and one that ould not be revenged of his citizens to the neral hurt of his country, although the injuries received at their hands, delivered him just casion to do it: nevertheless if he had any sire to provide for his safety, and to repair Rome, leaving them which causeless wished m so much evil, they would both openly d privately receive him with that due nour which his vertue deserved, and the orthiness of the Roman people re-ired. Clausus having long and many times nsidered this matter with himself, resolved that was the best way he could take, making rtue of necessity; and therefore being deter-ined to do it, he did procure his friends to do he did, and they got other also unto them, that he brought away with him out of the untry of the Sabines, five thousand families ith their wives and children (of the quietest d most peaceable people among the Sabines) dwell at Rome. Publicola being advertised ereof before they came, did receive them at eir coming to Rome with great joy, and all anner of good courteous entertainment. For their first coming, he made them all and eir families free citizens, and assigned unto ery person of them two *jugera* of land which contained one acre, one rood, eleven

Appius Clausus goeth to dwell at Rome

The ambush

pole, and sixty-nine parts of a pole) by the river of Tiber: and unto Appius' self he gave twenty-five *jugera* (to wit, sixteen acres and a half, four pole and seventy-six parts of a pole) and received him into the number of the Senators. And thus came he first unto the government of the common weal in Rome, where he did so wisely behave himself, that in the end he came to be the chiefest man of dignity and authority in Rome, so long as he lived. After his death, he left behind him the family of the Claudians, descending from him: which for honour, and worthiness, gave no place to the noblest family in Rome. But now the sedition amongst the Sabines being pacified, by the departure of those that were gone to Rome: the seditious governors would not suffer those that remained to live in peace, but still cried out, it were too much shame for them, that Clausus being a fugitive, and become an enemy, should honour their enemies abroad, that being present durst not shew so much at home, and that the Romans should escape unrevenged, who had done them such apparent wrongs. So they raised great force and power, and went and encamped with their army near the city of Fidenæ, and laid an ambush hard by Rome, in certain hidden and hollow places, where they put two thousand choice footmen, very well armed, and did appoint the next morning to send certain light horsemen to run and prey to Rome gates: commanding them, that when the Romans came out of the city to charge them, they should seem leisurely to retire, until they

ad drawn them within danger of their ambush. The Sabines discomfited
Publicola receiving full intelligence of all their ntention, by a traitor that fled from them unto im, made due preparation to encounter with heir privy ambush, and so divided his army in wo parts: for he gave his son-in-law Postmius Balbus, three thousand footmen, whom e sent away by night, commanding them the ame night to take the hills, in the bottom whereof the Sabines were laid in ambush. Lucretius, fellow-consul with Publicola, having he lightest and lustiest men of the city, was ppointed to make head against the vantcurrers f the Sabines that minded to approach the gates. And Publicola with the rest of the rmy, marched a great compass about to enclose his enemies behind. The next morning betimes, by chance it was a thick mist, and at that present time Postumius coming down from the hills, with great shouts, charged them that lay in ambush. Lucretius on the other side, set upon the light horsemen of the Sabines: and Publicola fell upon their camp. So that of all sides the Sabines enterprise had very ill success, for they had the worst in every place, and the Romans killed them flying, without any turning again to make resistance. Thus the place which gave them hope of best safety, turned most to their deadly overthrow. For every one of their companies supposing the other had been whole and unbroken, when a charge was given upon them, did straight break, and never a company of them turned head toward their enemy. For they that were in the camp, ran toward them

The death of Publicola

which lay in ambush: and those which were ambush on the contrary side, ran towards the that were in camp. So that in flying the o met with the other, and found those, towar whom they were flying to have bin safe, stand in as much need of help as themselv That which saved some that were not slain, w the city of Fidenæ, which was near the cam and specially saved those which fled thith But such as came short of the city, and co not in time recover it, were all slain in the fie or taken prisoners. As for the glory of honourable victory, albeit the Romans w wont to ascribe all such great notable matters the special providence and grace of the g yet at that time notwithstanding, they did ju that this happy success fell out by the v forethought and valiantness of the captain. every man that had served in this journey, so other talk in his mouth, but that Publi had delivered their enemies into their ha lame, and blind, and as a man might say, bo hand and feet to kill them at their pleas The people were marvellously enriched by victory, as well for the spoil, as for the ran e the prisoners that they had gotten. N Fic after he had triumphed, and left certa of the city to those, which we put for the year following, di armed, lived as honourably an send cert his life, as any ma Rome gate ple then took Romans can harges thereof they should as if they had

ver done him any honour in his life, and that ey had been still debtors unto him for the ble service he had done unto the state and mmon weal whilst he lived. Therefore towards s funeral charges, every citizen gave a piece of oney called a Quatrine. The women also for eir part to honour his funerals, agreed among emselves to mourn a whole year in black for n, which was a great and honourable memo- l. He was buried also by express order of e people, within the city, in the street called elia; and they granted privilege also unto all s posterity, to be buried in the self same place. owbeit they do no more bury any of his ere. But when any die, they bring the corse to this place, and one holding a torch burning his hand, doth put it under the place, and take it straight away again, to shew that they have liberty to bury him there, but that they willingly refuse this honour: and this done, they carry the corse away again.

His funerals

THE COMPARISON OF SOLON WITH PUBLICOLA

Publicola happy

Now presently to compare these two personag
together, it seemeth they both had one vertue
them: which is not found in any other of the
lives which we have written of before. A
the same is that the one hath been a witne
and the other a follower of him, to whom
was like. So as the sentence that Solon spa
to King Crœsus, touching Tellus' felicity a
happiness, might have better been applied un
Publicola, than to Tellus: whom he judged
be very happy, because he died honourably,
had lived vertuously, and had left behind h
goodly children. And yet Solon speake
nothing of his excellency or vertue in any of
poems: neither did he ever bear any honoura
office in all his time, nor yet left any childr
that carried any great fame or renown after
death. Whereas Publicola so long as he liv
was always the chief man among the Roma
of credit and authority: and afterwards since
death, certain of the noblest families, and m
ancient houses of Rome, in these our da
as the Publicoles, the Messales, and
Valerians, for six hundred years' conti

e, do refer the glory of the nobility and ientry of their house unto him. Further- re, Tellus was slain by his enemies fighting iantly like a worthy honest man. But Publi- a died after he had slain his enemies: which far more great good hap, than to be slain. r after he as general had honourably served country in the wars, and had left them con- rors, having in his life time received all ıours and triumphs due unto his service: he ined to that happy end of life, which lon accompted and esteemed, most happy and ssed. Also in wishing manner, he would his l should be lamented to his praise, in a place ere he confuteth Mimnermus, about the con- ıance of man's life, by saying:

Solon's censure of happiness

Let not my death without lamenting pass,
But rather let my friends bewail the same:
Whose grievous tears, and cries of Out alas!
May oft resound the echo of my name.

that be good hap, then most happy maketh Publicola: for at his death, not only his nds and kinsfolks, but the whole city also, l many a thousand persons besides, did bitterly vail the loss of him. For all the women of me did mourn for him in black, and did st pitifully lament his death, as every one of m had lost either father, brother or husband.

True it is, that I covet goods to have:
But yet so got as may me not deprave.

lon saith this, because vengeance followed gotten goods. And Publicola took great heed,

A mirror for magistrates

not only to get his goods most justly, but had regard that those which he had, he spent most honestly in helping the needy. So that if Solon was justly reputed the wisest man, we must needs confess also that Publicola was the happiest. For what the one desired for the greatest and most perfect good, a man can have in this world: the other hath won it, kept it, and used it all his lifetime, until the hour of his death. And thus hath Solon honoured Publicola, and Publicola hath done like unto Solon, shewing himself a perfect example and looking-glass, where men may see how to govern a popular state: when he made his consulship void of all pride and stately shew, and became himself affable, courteous, and beloved of every body. So took he profit by many of his laws. As when he ordained, that the people only should have authority to choose and create all common officers and magistrates, and that they might appeal from any judge to the people: as Solon when he suffered them to appeal unto the judges of the people. Indeed Publicola did not create any new senate, as Solon did: but he did augment the first number, with as many persons almost as there were before. He did also first erect the office of Quæstors, for keeping of all fines, taxes, and other collections of money. Because the chiefest magistrate, if he were an honest man, should not for so light an occasion be taken from the care of better and more weighty affairs: and if he were wickedly given and ill-disposed, that he should have no such mean or occasion to work his wicked will, by having the

sure of the city in his hands, and to com- **Moderation of both men**
d what he list. Moreover in hating the
nts, Publicola therein was far more sharp
terrible. For Solon in his laws punished
that went about to make himself a tyrant,
after he was convicted thereof by law: but
dicola ordained that they should kill him,
re the law did pass on him, that sought to
king. And when Solon justly and truly
nteth himself, that being offered to be king
lord of Athens, and that with the whole
sent of the citizens, yet he did notwith-
ding refuse it: this vaunt and glory is as
unto Publicola; who finding the dignity of
consul tyrannical, he brought it to be more
ly and favourable for the people, not taking
n him all the authority he might lawfully
e done. And it seemeth that Solon knew before
, what was the true and direct way to govern
ommon-weal uprightly. For he saith in one
e:

n great and small of power the better will obey:
re too little or too much upon them do not lay.

The discharging of debts was proper to Solon,
ch was a full confirmation of liberty. For
e prevaileth law to make equality among
zens, when debts do hinder the poor people
enjoy the benefit thereof. And where it
neth that they have most liberty, as in that
y may be chosen judges and officers, to speak
r opinion in the council, and give their voices
: there indeed are they most bound and
ject, because they do but obey the rich,

Publicola's laws better stablished

in all they do command. But yet in this act there is a thing more wonderful, and worthy to be noted. That commonly discharging of debts, was wont to breed great tumults and seditions in common-weals. And Solon having used it in a very good time (as the physician ventring a dangerous medicine) did appease the sedition already begun, and did utterly quench through his glory, and the common opinion they had of his wisdom and vertue, all the infamy and accusation that might have grown of that act. As for their first entry into the government, Solon's beginning was far more noble. For he went before, and followed not another: and himself alone without any other's help, did put in execution the best, and more part of all his notable and goodly laws. Yet was Publicola's end and death much more glorious and happy. For Solon before he died, saw all his common-wealth overthrown: but Publicola's common-weal continued whole as he left it, until the broil of civil wars began again among them. Solon, after he had made his laws, and written them in wooden tables, leaving them without defence of any man, went his way immediately out of the city of Athens. Publicola abiding continually in Rome, governing the state, did throughly establish and confirm the laws he made. Furthermore Solon having wisely forseen Pisistratus' practices, aspiring to make himself king, he could never let him for all that, but was himself overcome and oppressed with the tyranny he saw stablished in his own sight, and in despite of him: where Publicola overthrew and did put

down a mighty kingdom, that had continued of long time, and was throughly stablished: his vertue and desire being equal with Solon's, and having had besides fortune favourable, and sufficient power to execute his vertuous and well disposed mind. But as for wars and marshal deeds, there is no comparison to be made between them. For Daïmachus Platæan, doth not attribute the wars of the Megarians unto Solon, as we have written it: where Publicola being general of an army, and fighting himself in person, hath won many great battels. And as for matters of peace and civil government, Solon never durst present himself openly to persuade the enterprise of Salamisa, but under a counterfeit madness, and as a fool to make sport: where Publicola taking his adventure from the beginning, showed himself without dissimulation, an open enemy to Tarquin, and afterwards he revealed all the whole conspiracy. And when he had been the only cause and author of punishing the traitors, he did not only drive out of Rome the tyrants' selves in person, but took from them also all hope of return again. Who having always thus nobly and valiantly behaved himself, without shrinking back, or flying from ought that required force, a manly courage, or open resistance: did yet show himself discreet, where wisdom was requisite, or reason and persuasion needful. As when he cunningly wan King Porsena, who was a dreadful enemy unto him, and invincible by force: whom he handled in such good sort, that he made him his friend. Peradventure some might stand in this and say:

Publicola's greater skill

Publicola's tact and policy

that Solon recovered the Isle of Salamis unto the Athenians, which they would have lost; Publicola to the contrary, restored the lands unto Porsena again, which the Romans had conquered before, within the country of Tuscany. But the times in which these things were done, are always to be considered of. For a wise governor of a realm, and politic man, doth govern diversely according to the occasions offered, taking everything in his time wherein he will deal. And many times, in letting go one thing, he saveth the whole: and in losing a little, he gaineth much. As Publicola did, who losing a little piece of another man's country which they had usurped, saved by that means all that was assuredly his own. And whereas the Romans thought he should do very much for them, to save their city only, he got them moreover, all the goods that were in their enemy's camp, which did besiege them. And in making his enemy judge of his quarrel, he wan the victory: winning that moreover, which he would gladly have given to have overcome, and have sentence passed on his side. For the king their enemy did not only make peace with them, but did also leave them all his furniture, provisions, and munition for the wars: even for the vertue, manhood, and justice, which the great wisdom of the Consul persuaded Porsena to believe to be in all the other Romans.

EPILOGUE

The six Lives given in this volume resemble each other in more points than one. They all have an element of the fabulous in them, and all describe lawgivers or the founders of states. It was no accident that led to their being placed first in the book. The author had already felt his way by the publication of *Lycurgus* and *Numa* (Thes., chap. i.); and having found (we may assume) that they excited interest, he set to work to carry out his plan more completely. To this end he went back to the beginnings, and added the lives of Theseus, as founder of the Athenian state, and of Romulus, the founder of Rome. Neither of these, however, holds the place that Lycurgus holds in Sparta; and to make the picture complete, Solon and Publicola were also added, the first as the great lawgiver of Athens, the second as one of those who helped to organise the Roman Republic when the Romans began first to work out a constitution.

In the lives of most of these men, as with all legendary figures, the marvellous plays a part. Such stories as Numa's intercourse with Egeria, and Romulus' assumption to the skies, are treated nowadays with scant courtesy; and if they are given at all in a modern history, they are told in a

manner the briefest and barest, to be got rid of (as it were) and done with as soon as possible, and then to business. But this is a mistake; for although we may not believe them to be true, yet the ancient belief in them was true, and a fact not to be left out of account. Under the legend of Numa it is easy to see the deep impression of wisdom, more than human, which he must have made upon his contemporaries; and if the Romans believed without question the vision of Julius Proculus, it can only have been that the life and exploits of their founder justified their granting him the especial favour of the gods. If these stories are repeated to us with a scarce-veiled contempt, we receive the impression, not of heroism, but of childishness. This has been seen by one modern historian, Thomas Arnold, who with true insight has told the tales simply as he might tell them to a child, yet not childishly; and Plutarch was wise in using them for his book. He was himself by no means credulous. 'Methinks,' says he in one place (p. 100) of such legends, 'they are not altogether to be rejected or discredited if we will consider fortune's strange effects upon times, and of the greatness also of the Roman Empire, which had never achieved to her present possessed power and authority, if the gods had not from the beginning been workers of the same, and if there had not also been some strange cause and wonderful foundation;' or as regards another thing, 'yet I wot not how, some celestial motion or divine inspiration helped it much' (p. 143). But when he comes to details, he seems never to believe fully that which is miraculous, but qualifies all with 'it is

said,' or, 'that which some say, is hardly to be credited,' or such like phrases. He is, in fact, the intelligent sceptic, but by no means an unbeliever. On the contrary, it is reverence for the divine which leads him to reject such tales as would 'make men to be as gods, and equal with them in power' (p. 144). But gods there are, and there is a soul in man which came from heaven, and thither again it doth return, 'not with the body, but then soonest, when the soul is furthest off and separated from the body, and that it is kept holy, and is no more defiled with the flesh' (p. 144).

In writing these six Lives Plutarch treats of many subjects important in history, and the question arises: How far is he to be trusted as a historian? He has been accused of carelessness, and more than carelessness, in quoting; but the accusation takes no account of his point of view. It is true that he quotes a large number of authors almost indiscriminately, at least without critical estimate of their value; and that his criticism, when he does use it, seems to be rather reasoning *a priori*,[1] than a careful examination of the means each author had of knowing the facts, and his general trustworthiness. But we must remember he did not try to write history, but to pourtray character. Thus he may often omit what is historically important, and put in some trifle which shows character; he may be wrong in a date, since it often makes no matter, when such a man did such a thing, so long as he did it. For national history and institutions he had the best authorities, and studied them with care; many of his statements in the lives of Solon and

[1] See p. 110.

Theseus, for instance, are quoted from Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, which has been recently discovered, and he may have had equally good authority for others we know nought of. As regards those things which throw light on character, he had made large collections of his own from various sources, such as the *Sayings of Kings and Captains*, and the *Spartan Sayings*; whilst in his *Roman and Greek Questions* he discusses a number of popular customs and superstitions, which throw light on the characters of the two peoples. To depict character was his aim, and in this he certainly succeeded. For dates and details of history we will go elsewhere; but if we wish the great heroes of the past to live before our eyes, we turn to Plutarch and are not disappointed.

The acts and motives of these men he estimates with much shrewdness and a fair mind, ready ever to make allowances for those things in which they fail, and ungrudging in his admiration when they succeed. He has none of the cynicism which cannot recognise a hero, and yet is far from that blind worship which thinks that the hero can do no wrong. His ambition is not to prove that the great are after all idols with feet of clay, but that in spite of the clay they are great, and worthy models for imitating. It is here lies the chief value of the Lives. No one can read them and not be the better for it. Even we, to whom these men are mere names, linked to us by no unity of blood or tradition, are moved by their example to follow, if it be afar; how much greater must have been their influence on a Greek or a Roman, whose kindred they were, and the fathers of their race! Could

one be found to do the like for our Alfred
William the Conqueror, for the Fifth and
th Henries, for Elizabeth, for Simon de Mont-
Sir Philip Sidney, for Marlborough and
ington, Drake and Nelson, this would be more
he national character than a host of Citizen
uals. Then we should see the indomitable
ınd the high aim, clear of all those petty faults
nd failings which by unskilful hands
are made to obscure them; and
then we could understand what
Plutarch's *Lives* meant
to a Roman or
a Greek.

EDITORIAL NOTE

North's *Plutarch* was first published in 1579, and at once it became popular, as many as seven new editions appearing within the century following the first publication. Another translation bears the name of Dryden, who wrote the Introduction to it; and in latter days the translation of John and William Langhorne has been most widely read. Several of the Lives have also been translated by George Long. In point of accuracy, North's version (being made from the French, and not from the Greek direct) cannot compare with the Langhornes' or with Long's; but as a piece of English style it is far to be preferred before any other.

The present issue is based on the first edition of 1579, but in a few instances (which are pointed out in the Notes) an improvement has been adopted from one of the later editions. The spelling has been modernised, except in a few words where it testifies to the ancient pronunciation; but old grammatical forms have been kept unchanged. The proper names are spelt in an erratic manner by North, and are here corrected in accordance with common usage; except in a few words which all know, where North has englished the ending, as

Delphes. Where, however, North is not alway consistent (as in the endings *-ion* and *-ium*), th Editor has not felt bound to be so, but has kept a close to the original as possible.

The Notes draw attention to the chief place where North has mistaken the meaning of Amyo or Amyot has mistranslated the Greek; and t those places where the translators had a readin different from the received text, that of Sinten being taken as the standard.

NOTES.

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34. 'Pluck not,' etc., *lit.* 'do not open the foot of the wineskin,' *i.e.*, preserve strict continency.

42. 'Phæa' means the 'Dun' sow. Amyot has added to the text, *c'est à dire, Bure* ('russet cloth,' *Cotgrave*), which N. seems to have misunderstood.

43. 'Naught of her body': A. *abandonee de son corps*, Gr. ἀκόλαστον, *i.e.* immoral.

44. 'City of Hermionia': A. '*Hermione*,' and so MSS., probably corrupt.

'Termerus' evil,' τερμέρειον κακόν, explained as ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα δεινῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν in the Proverbs of Macarius viii. 8.

47. 'Marching directly.' Both N. and A. omit Σφηττόθεν, name of another Attic deme.

'Acouete Leo,' ἀκούετε λέῳ. N. follows A. in writing *Leos*, the singular.

'Apollo Delphinian': See Delphinium in glossary. A. has the word right, but N. writes *Delphias*, which I have corrected.

50. 'The foot of this song': Gr. ἐπᾴδειν, A. *ce refrain*.

53. 'Tackle the sails': Gr. πρωρέα, 'the officer in command at the prow,' A. *pour gouuerner la prouë*. North's 'master' is the κυβερνήτης, or pilot; A. *un pilote*.

53. 'His nephew': the Greek adds the name Menesthes, which is omitted by both translators.

58. 'A young child': Gr. τινα τῶν νεανίσκων, a young man. This looks like an ancient example of the *couvade*.

'All on the left hand': N. has misunderstood A.,

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composé de cornes seulement toutes du costé gauche, which accurately translates the Greek 'horns all of the left side' of the animal's head.

60. 'For troubling,' *i.e.*, lest he should trouble them by ill tidings, and so spoil the effect.

61. 'Ele, leuf, iou, iou': A. *Ele-leuf, iou, iou*, Gr. ἐλελεῦ ἰού, ἰού. The spelling is doubtless due to the modern Greek pronunciation of υ as a labial consonant.

'Bring him': A. *Apportez luy*, both incorrect. The Greek means, 'The Iresione brings figs, etc.' The verses are a bit of a folk-song.

65. 'Metœcia.' This was not a feast 'for all strangers,' but a commemoration of the centralisation upon Athens. The explanatory words are Amyot's.

67. 'They were since called,' *i.e.*, the words Hecatombæon (worth a hundred oxen) and Decabæon (worth ten oxen) had reference to the ox-coin. This is not the whole truth. The fact probably is, the ox-coin represented the standard value of the ox in silver. See Ridgeway, *Origin of Coin and Weight Standards*, p. 4.

67. 'The superscription,' etc. Both translators have gone wrong here, in taking part of the prose as belonging to the verse. The pillar had two inscriptions, each an iambic trimeter: to the E., 'This not Peloponesus, but Ionia'; to the W., 'This is Peloponesus, not Ionia.'

68 'Sea-Major,' A. *mer Maiour*, Gr. τὸν Εὔξεινον. As the modern Greek name for the sea was Μαύρη θάλασσα, 'the Black Sea,' I make no doubt that Amyot is here reproducing the name which some Greek had told him. We have already seen (note to p. 61) that he must have heard modern Greek spoken, and perhaps he was aided in his translation by a Greek.

70. 'Hermus': Ἕρμου is gen. of Ἕρμος, Ἑρμοῦ of Ἑρμῆς.

71. 'The little god Chalcodon': N. writes *Chalcodus*, A. *der demy dieu Chalcodus*. The Greek means, 'by the shrine (ἡρῷον) of Chalcodon,' who was doubtless a 'hero.'

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77. 'His daughter Proserpina': so both translators. The Greek has κόρην, another title of Proserpina, which means 'the girl.' Aidoneus is the king of the underworld, and the story is the euhemerising of a legend that Thesus went down to Hades and carried off Proserpina.

81. 'Anacos': ἀνακῶς.

'Whose eyes most men desire': βοῶπιν, 'ox-eyed,' or with large soft eyes; A. *aux beaux yeux*. The exigencies of rhyme have been too much for North.

'Munytus': both N. and A. have *Munychus*.

89. 'Promathion' was not 'an Italian writer,' but 'a writer on things Italian.' A. has translated correctly, *leguel a escrit vne histoire Italique*. The name is Greek, and the form not Attic; he may have been an Italian Greek.

91 'Brothers of father and mother': A. *les freres de pere et de mere,—i.e.* having the same father and mother. The Greek has simply 'brothers.'

102. 'Rome, which is called four square': *Roma Quadrata*, the old settlement on the Palatine.

114. 'Romans' fashions': the treatise, *Quaestiones Romanæ*.

131. 'Periscylacismos': N. has *Periscylacismes*, copied from A., who apparently gave the word a French plural ending.

133. 'The first year of the reign of Tatius': this is most likely a misprint, as A. has *cinquieme* (Gr. πέμπτῳ). N. probably wrote *fift*, which (with the long *f*) is easily mistaken for first. I have accordingly restored *fifth*.

135 'Camerines, Camerians, Camerine': the city was named Cameria. I leave the forms used by N. for rhythmical reasons.

137. 'Septempagium': N. has *Septemagium*, following A., doubtless a simple misreading of the Greek or a misprint.

145 'Or the dart itself': the text has *on*, clearly a misprint (A. *ou*, Gr. ἤ).

'Quiritis': N. has *Quiritides*, clearly because A. writes *Quiritide*. See on p. 157.

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146. 'Gnæus': so both translators, but the Greek has *Λουκίου*.

150. 'Before any of those,' etc.: *those* is the antecedent of *whom*, and *them* is the tyrants.

156. 'Romulus' divinements': A. *ce qu'on raconte de la divinité*, *τὰ περὶ τοῦ θείου μυθολογούμενα*, 'the stories told about the divine'; *i.e.* the relation of the gods to the person spoken of.

157. 'Olympiad': N. writes *Olympiades*, altering A.'s *Olympiade* as above. Note on p. 145.

158. 'Patrocles, Eurytion': so both N. and A. The Greek has Procles, Eurypon.

159. 'Eurytion, Eurytionides': so N. and A.; the Greek as before has Eurypon, Eurypontidæ.

163. 'Poet harper': A. *poëte Lyrique*, Gr. *ποιητὴν λυρικῶν μελῶν*, 'lyric poet.'

'That title and name': A. *prenoit le titre de cest art-la.* The Greek is different, *πρόσχημα τὴν τέχνην ταύτην πεποιημένον ἔργῳ δὲ ἅπερ οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν νομοθετῶν διαπραττόμενον*, 'making that art his cloke or screen, but really working out what the strongest of law-givers do.' A. may have mistaken the meaning of *πρόσχημα*, but he has *faisoit* for *διαπραττόμενον*, while N. has mistaken the whole passage.

164. 'Creophylus': so the Greek. A. has *Cleophylus*, N. *Cliophylus*.

165. 'An overthrown body,' Gr. *σώματι πονηρῷ*, *i.e.* 'diseased.' A. has *un corps tout gasté*, and *gasté* means both 'infected' and 'turned upside down' (see Cotgrave).

166. 'Juno's brazen temple': it was really the temple of Athena. The explanation is Amyot's.

'Evil to the evil' should be 'harsh' or 'stern to the evil,' *τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλεπός*. A. has a better rendering—*mauuais non pas aux mechans mesmes.*

167. 'Equal to all parts,' should be 'to all its parts,' *τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν*, A. *toutes ses parties.* The number 28 is the sum of the first seven numbers.

168. 'Syllanian': so A. and MSS. Some critics emend Ἑλλανίου, Ἑλλανίας

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169. 'Delphos isle': A. *sainct temple Delphique*. N. may have confused Delphi with Delos.

176. 'Recovered the liberties of a church,' *i.e.*, took sanctuary.

178. 'Optiles': ὀπτίλοι.

180. 'Caddos': so A. The Greek has κάδδιχος.
'Discadded': A. *decaddé*, a word coined to translate ἐκκεκαδίσθαι.

182. 'Tools of occupation': A. *util de menuiserie*. 'Occupy' is 'to use,' 'occupier' a 'tradesman. (Halliwell).
'Leontychidas': so A. The Greek has Λεωτυχίδα.

184. 'Throwing the bar': the text has 'throw.'

197. 'Every rag and colman hedge': this colloquialism is North's. A. has *qui se meslent trop souvent et trop dissoluëment auec les femmes*: Gr. τῶν πρὸς τας συνουσίας ἀκολάστων.

199. 'Lover of her citizens': N. seems to have misunderstood A. *aimant ses citoyens*, which gives the meaning correctly. It should be 'a lover of his fellow-citizens.'

205. 'Oulames': Gr. οὐλαμοί.

207. 'To spend the time with talking together': The first ed. has *walking*, but in view of A.'s *discourir* and the Greek, it is probably a misprint.

208. 'Pisistratidas': so both translators. The Greek text has Polycratidas.

217. 'Kings successors,' in apposition, a Gallicism not uncommon in legal phraseology, as *heirs males*. A. has *nul des Roys successeurs*. Both translators have neglected δεκατεσσάρων, 'fourteen.'

218. 'A little scroll of parchment': A. *un petit billet de parchemin*. This was the Scytale (σκυτάλη). Any official on leaving Sparta received from the Ephors a staff of a certain size, and they kept another such. When they would send him a dispatch, they wound about this staff a strip of leather (hence the name), and wrote their message across it. This could only be read when wound in the same way about the other staff.

219. 'Reformers': The word ἁρμοστὴς was the title of a Spartan governor.

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225. 'Proclus': N. has a side-note, 'In the Life of Romulus he is named Proculus.' This is translated from A., who, like N., writes Proculus there and Proclus here; but the Greek has Πρόκλος in either place, which is the transliteration of Proculus

227. 'And make every of them to rule temperately and uprightly, seeing. . . .' The text reads: 'to rule temperately, and uprightly see, that. . . .' I have ventured to alter the reading, which I am convinced is corrupt. The phrase, as far as 'uprightly,' is neither in the Greek nor in Amyot; for the rest, the Greek has ὁρῶντα, and A. has *quand on verroit*, which enables us to restore 'seeing,' and so make sense.

'Rule for the time': N. has here misunderstood A.'s *entreregne*, which should mean, as the Latin word does, a space between two rulers; *interrex* is a compound made from the adverbial phrase *inter reges*, as *proconsul* from *pro consule*; and *interregnum* is derivative from *interrex*.

245. 'Joyed after they have professed': A. has *encore moins en est il bien pris à celles qui en ont usé*; and N. seems to be translating from the Greek, which means 'no good has happened to those who were glad to do so.'

246. 'With the Latins is said to be raised.' This is hardly intelligible, and is clearly a mistranslation of A. *et l'appellent les Latins par un mot, qui signifie autant comme leuee.* Plutarch says, 'it is called in the Latin language a heap,' *i.e.*, *agger*.

247. 'The earth, which they say is Vesta.' Gr. ὡς Ἑστίας οὔσης, 'as though that were Vesta,' *i.e.*, they do not call the earth Vesta, but the fire. Here A. is wrong too: *qu' on dit estre Vesta.*

255. 'The element': A. *le ciel.* Gr. τὸν κόσμον, 'the universe.'

257. 'Of onions.' The rendering does not quite give the correct impression. The conversation went thus:—'With heads.' 'Of onions?' 'Of men.' 'What, hairs?' 'No, living. . . .' '. . . Pilchards.'

IE

3. 'June': 'Peradventure ye must read in the Greek ἀπὸ τῆς ἥρας, which is to say, of the name of Juno': note by N., translated from A. This is the received reading; but clearly A.'s text had ἥβης.

4. 'Purification': 'Some old Grecian copies say in this place φθιτοῖς, as much to say, as for the dead.' Note by N. following A.

7. 'Manhood': The Greek word means *man-mad*, and A. has *enrageans d'avoir le masle*. Did N. write *man-wood?* There seems to be no v. l. The text is right, however, if we may suppose *man-hood* was pronounced *man-ood*, the *w* dropping as in *'ooll* for *wool*, *'ooman* for *woman*.

8. 'Hermony': Hermione is the name.

9. 'Getania': both translators have Gegania. So also Sintenis, from a conjecture.

0. Line 17, 'unto'; 1st ed., *to*; line 24, 'in'; 1st ed., *into*.

2. 'Contentation': 1st ed., *contention*.

3. 'But reasonably to live': A. *qui auoit de quoy moyenement*, Gr. οὐσίᾳ μὲν . . . καὶ δυνάμει μέσον τῶν πολιτῶν.

4. 'Wont to light the holy candle': A. *au lieu où ceux qui courent auec le flambeau sacré, ont accoustumé de l'allumer*. The reference is to the torch-race, which N. has misunderstood.

6. 'Negrepont': so both translators. No part of Salamis is in sight of Negrepont; consequently some emend Νισαίαν, which is the port of Megara. The MSS. have Εὔβοιαν, it is true, but it is hardly possible to understand this unless some other place was so called.

9. 'Honourable goddesses,' σεμναὶ θεαί, the Eumenides or Furies.

5. 'Arsia': A. *Arsien*. The proper name is Ursus.

9. 'Vicus Publicus': so both translators. These words mean simply 'public street.' The Greek refers to *Vica Pota*, an ancient Roman goddess of victory.

6. 'The thought is taken': A. has more correctly: *quant à moy ie n'en veux mener, ny porter* contre duell.

PAGE

Gr. *οὐ προσίεμαι τὸ πένθος*, 'I do not admit the mourning.'

367. 'Claras': so both translators. The Greek has *Λάραν*, *i.e.*, *Lars*.

369. 'Lucretius': so both translators. Sintenis has *Λάρτιος* by emendation, the name usually given.

371. 'Surnamed Sandon' should be 'son of Sandon.' N. translates A., as usual.

'Opsigonus': a Grecising of *Postumus*.

GLOSSARY

s, the ancient inhabitants
bœa
y, an estate near Athens,
ed with a gymnasium and
s of plane and olive. Here
ıter date Plato taught
son of Pandion and king of
s, father of Theseus
:s, an Athenian orator, rival
mosthenes (B.C. 389-314)
ius, god of healing
daughter of Pittheus and
r of Theseus
p, an unpleasant result after
med to be well, 16
ıs, King of Sparta B.C.
io
ame of several Kings of
. Agis II. reigned B.C. 427-
nd took part in the Pelo-
sian war
les of Athens (B.C. 450-404),
liant but unstable genius;
amous both as soldier and
tesman
the chief lyric poet of
(7th century B.C.)
:, mother of Hercules
er Severus, Roman emperor
22-235
s, a city of Cyprus
tyons, an inter-tribal coun-
it sat in Delphi
olis, a city in Thrace, on
rymon
'lords,' a title of the gods
and Pollux
las, a Spartan diplomatist,
of the Peace of 387 B.C.
ae, a Sabine town at the
ɔn of Anio and Tiber
Marcus Antonius the
ir, defeated at the battle of Actium B.C. 31, and perished the year after by his own hand

Aphidnæ, a dene or township in the N. of Attica

Aphrodite, Venus, goddess of love and beauty

Apollo, son of Zeus and Leto, god of prophecy and wisdom, patron of song and music, later, god of the sun

Archilochus of Paros, born in the 8th century B.C., a lyric poet and satirist

Ariadne, daughter of Minos

Aristomenes, a warrior who fought in the second Messenian war

Aristotle of Stagira, B.C. 384-322, the great Greek philosopher

Asopia, the district about the river Asopus, the plain round Sicyon

Asty, the 'City,' used specially as the Acropolis of Athens, which was the site of the original settlement

Asylæus, inviolate, 102

Atlantides, Atlantis, a great island reputed in legend to lie W. of the Pillars of Hercules, *i.e.* of the Strait of Gibraltar

Attys, a beautiful shepherd of Phrygia, beloved of the goddess Cybele

Augustus, first Roman Emperor, B.C. 31—A.D. 14

Autochthones, aboriginal races, 'born of the soil'

BACCHUS, god of wine

Bacchylides, a lyric poet, contemporary with Pindar. His poems have been lately discovered

Banket, banquet, 175

Bawk, baulk, boundary, 308
Because, in order that, 54
Bidden, endured, 195
Boëdromia, a festival in honour of Apollo, having something of a warlike character
Blaze, to mark, make notorious, 50
Brasidas, a great Spartan commander in the Peloponnesian war, killed at Amphipolis
Busiris, King of Egypt, was wont to sacrifice all strangers. Hercules being thus led to the altar, there broke his chains, and sacrificed Busiris

Caius Cæsar, Caligula, Emperor of Rome A.D. 37 to 41
Cambyses, name of two kings of Persia
Camillus, five times dictator, a great general of the early days. The invasion of the Gauls was that under Brennus, B.C. 390
Capitol, one of the seven hills of Rome, where stood the Citadel and the Temple of Jupiter
Cates, viands, 178
Cattell, goods and chattels, 95
Cecrops, the first king of Athens
Centauri, monsters, half man half horse
Cephisus, name of several rivers, *e.g.*, one in Bœotia, one in Attica
Ceres, goddess of the earth and of agriculture
Chæronea, a city in Bœotia, scene of two famous battles in B.C. 338 and 86
Chio, Chios, a large island off the Bay of Smyrna
Cimon, son of Miltiades
Circe, a witch enamoured of Ulysses
Cirrha, the port of Delphi
Clarie, Clarius, a river in Cyprus
Cloynish, clownish, 11
Compass, round (*'en cercle'*), 252
Consequently, in succession, 216
Cousin, kinsman, 124
Crœsus, King of Lydia, reigned B.C. 560-546, proverbial for his wealth
Crotona, a city in Bruttium, Italy
Crustumerium, a Sabine town
Cun, learn, 293
Curates, curaces, cuirasses, 273
Cybernesia, the first part of the festival called Theseia. It commemorated the return of Theseus at the shrines of Nausithous and Phocax at Phalerum
Cyclops, a one-eyed monster described in the Odyssey
Cylon seized the Acropolis, but being brought to straits, surrendered to the archon Megacles on promise of life. But he and the other conspirators were put to death
Cyrus (1), founder of the Persian empire, overthrew Crœsus B.C. 546; (2), plotted against his brother Artaxerxes, king of Persia, and fell in battle with him

Daedalus, a mythical artist, builder of the labyrinth
Deliciousness, luxury, 171
Delos, a sacred isle in the Cyclades, with an ancient temple of Apollo
Delphes, Delphi, a city in Phocis, seat of the most famous oracle of Apollo
Delphinium, a very ancient sanctuary at Athens, sacred to Apollo, where certain cases of homicide were tried
Demaratus, King of Sparta, about B.C. 510-491
Demetrius the Phalerian, born about 345 B.C., governor of Athens, orator, statesman, philosopher, and poet
Deucalion, son of Minos
Diogenes of Sinope, B.C. 411-323, the great cynic philosopher
Domitian, eleventh Roman Emperor, A.D. 81-96
Doubt of, suspect, 14
Duke, owl, (old Fr. *duc*) 103

Eger, weak (amyot, *aigre*) 173
Eleusis, a village near Athens, where were celebrated the famous Mysteries in honour of Demeter and her daughter Persephone (Koré)
Eleutherae, a village and fortress on the frontier of Attica
Endymion, a beautiful youth of Caria, beloved of Selene (the Moon)

Epaminondas, the great Thebean general and statesman, killed at Mantinea B.C. 362
Epicharmus of Cos, a Dorian comic poet, born about B.C. 540. He migrated to Sicily, and wrote plays there. He was a Pythagorean
Epidaurus, a city and famous health resort in N.E. Peloponnese, near Troezen. It held a sanctuary of Asclepios (Æsculapius)
Erechtheus, son of Poseidon and a legendary king of Greece
Euripides, the third great tragic poet of Athens, B.C. 480-406
Eurotas, chief river of Sparta
Evander, a Greek colonist, said to have founded a city on the site of Rome

FACT, deed, 337
Fardel, bundle, 349
Feat, neat, 199
Fidenae, a Sabine town

GARGETTUS, a deme or parish township of Attica, on Mount Hymettus
Gests, deeds, 74
Glawncing, glancing, hinting, 97
Gnossus, a city of Crete
Guarded, bordered, 127

HECTEMORII, men of the sixth part, *i.e.*, who paid so much, 303
Hecuba, wife of Priam, mother of Paris
Helots, the serfs of Laconia
Heraclitus, a philosopher of Ephesus, fl. at the end of the 7th century B.C. He considered fire as the primary element
Hercules, the great mythical hero of Greece, whose Twelve Labours are proverbial
Hesiodus, about the eighth century B.C., a poet who wrote the *Works and Days*, a collection of practical maxims, proverbs, directions for husbandry, details of lucky days, and the like. To him are also ascribed the *Shield of Hercules* and the *Theogomy*
Hippicon, a horse's course (at the races), 324
Hirse, a kind of grain, millet, 326
Hitwaw, or Hitway, woodpicker, 92
Horcomosium, 'the place of the oath'
Hortyard, garden, orchard, 311
Humour, eccentricity, extravagance, 151

IBYCUS of Rhegium, a Greek lyric poet of the 6th century B.C. He lived at Samos
Imparle, consult, 125
Impertinent, out of place, 201
Incontinently, at once, 251
Indirect, underhand, 342
Iphitus, killed by Hercules in a fit of madness. As a punishment he was attacked by a disease, which the Pythian oracle said could only be cured if he would serve three years for wages. He accordingly served Omphale (see *Omphale*)
Iphitus, King of Elis, restored the Olympic games B.C. 884
Iresione, an olive branch laden with the kindly fruits of the earth, which was carried about at the harvest festival of the Pyanepsia
Isthmia, games celebrated every 2 years on the Isthmus of Corinth, in honour of Poseidon (Neptune)

JANICULUM, a hill on the side of the Tiber opposite to Rome
Jason, captain of the magic ship Argo, who won the Golden Fleece
Joll, beat, 44
Journey, day (*i.e.*, the battle), 219
Juno, wife of Jupiter and Queen of heaven
Jupiter, Gr. Zeus, lord of heaven

LACEDÆMON, Sparta
Lapithae, a Thessalian tribe
Lavinium, a city in Latium
Laurentum, a city in Latium
Lay land, fallow, untilled, 340
Leese, lose, 144
Lemman, lover, paramour, 93
Leotychidas I, King of Sparta, B.C. 491-469
Let, hinder, 174

Lever, rather, 16-8
Lickerish, dainty, 175
Lyceum, a gymnasium, &c.; of Athens, outside and near the walls of the Ilissus
Lysander, a Spartan commander, who destroyed the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami, B.C. 404, and broke the power of Athens. His luxury and pomp became proverbial
Lucullus, B.C. 110-56, a Roman general, conqueror of Mithridates

Mantinea, a city in the Peloponnese
Mamumiss, set free (*Lat.*) 352
Manure, cultivate, 340
Massilia, Marseilles, founded by Euxenus, of Phocæa in Asia Minor
Mars, Ares, god of war
Mear, measure, 258
Medea, a famous witch of Colchis. She helped Jason to win the Golden Fleece, fled with him to Corinth, murdered her children in jealousy, and was banished
Megara, a city on the borders of Attic territory. Sciron's haunt was the great cliffs to the W. of Megara, which have been, even in modern times, a favourite haunt of bandits
Meleager, hero of a boar-hunt famous in story
Mell, honey (Lat. *mei*), 61
Mercury, Hermes, messenger of the gods
Messenians, people of the plain W. of Sparta, separated from it by the range of Taygetus. There were three great wars between Messenia and Sparta, extending over many years
Metoecia, or Synoecia, a feast founded by Theseus in memory of the centralising of the Attic towns, and held yearly
Miletus, a powerful Ionian city in Caria
Miltiades, an Athenian general, victor at Marathon, B.C. 490
Mina, a sum of money equivalent in bullion to about £4

Minos, King of Crete, bro
Rhadamanthus. He wa
ous in tradition as a grea
lator, and after death
one of the judges of the
It is curious that a few
ago was found in Crete
ancient code of laws o
length, engraved on a
wall
Mithridates VI., King of
(B.C. 160-63), a redo
warrior, who for many
successfully resisted the R
Muses, the nine divine patr
of song, music, and the ar

NATURAL children, lawful
now bastards), 51
Naxos, an island of the
Archipelago, in the Cycla
Near-hand, lately, 146
Negrepont, Eubœa; see
p. 296
Nephew, grandson, 53
Neptune, Gr. Poseidon, god
sea. His symbols are the
or a dolphin
Nun, used by N. of the Py
priestess of Apollo at
She used to sit upon a
beneath which fumes ros
the earth; and intoxica
these fumes, she uttere
sayings, which the priest
down (more or less modi
answers of the oracle

OBOL, a Greek silver coin
about three halfpence
Olympia, games celebra
Olympia in Elis every fou
in honour of Zeus
Omphale, queen of Lydia,
of Hercules, who becai
plaything, and drest as a
spun wool, while Ompha
his lionskin
Oschophoria, a vintage festi
Ought, owned, 325
Ower, oar, 55

PALLADIUM, a court of law at
Pan, god of the woodlands
of shepherds

Panathenæa, a festival founded by Erechtheus, and increased in splendour by Theseus after the centralising of the Attic towns. The Lesser Panathenæa were held each year, the Greater every four years

Paris, Alexander, son of Priam, King of Troy, the seducer of Helen

Parpine, parpent, a long stone laid as binder through a wall, 367

Parrhasius, of Ephesus, fl. B.C. 400, a painter

Pasiphae, wife of Minos, and mother of the Minotaur

Passager, bird of passage, 104

Pelops, son of Tantoilus, father of Atreus and Thyestes. A curse rested on his house for its crimes

Peloponnesus, that part of Greece which is S. of the Isthmus of Corinth

Pentlike, *i.e.* Pentelic, from Mount Pentelicum near Athens

Periander, despot of Corinth, B.C. 625-585. He counted as one of the Seven Sages

Phalerum, the most easterly of the harbours of Athens, near Peiræus

Pine-apple trees, pines, 41

Pindar, of Thebes, about B.C. 522-442, a lyric poet

Pine, starve, 216

Pisistratus, despot of Athens in the 6th century B.C., a liberal patron of literature and the arts. He is said to have collected and edited the Homeric poems

Plato, B.C. 429-347, a great philosopher of Athens, friend and pupil of Socrates

Plistonax (Pleistoanax), King of Sparta, colleague of Agis. He reigned B.C. 458-408

Pluto, god of the underworld

Pnyx, place of public assembly in Athens

Poll, head, 304

Pontifex, priest of a Roman college or brotherhood. N. renders it Bishop, p. 242

Priene, an Ionian city on the coast of Caria

Proserpine, daughter of Demeter, and wife of Pluto, the king of the underworld

Prove, try, 121

Puglia, Apulia

Pythagoras of Samos, a philosopher, fl. in the last half of the 6th century B.C. He taught the transmigration of souls

QUATRINE, quadrans, a small copper coin, 381

REGIMENT, rule, 227

Repugnance, inconsistency, 330

Rewme, rheum, 190

Rhadamanthus, brother of King Minos, proverbial for justice. After death he became one of the judges of the lower world

Rother, horned cattle, 361

Runagate, renegade, 101

SAKER, peregrine hawk, 103

Samothrace, an island in the N. of the Ægean Sea

Sardis, the capital of Crœsus kingdom of Lydia

Saturn, an ancient Roman deity. His temple was in the Forum

Satyrs, monstrous forms with goats' legs, that haunted the woods

Scipio Africanus, P. Corn. Scipio Æmilianus Afr. Minor, about 185-129, the conqueror of Carthage

Scyros, an island near Eubœa

Seely, simple, 192

Selinunta, Selinus in Sicily

Servius Tullius, sixth King of Rome

Sess, assess, 310

Shed, part or comb, 203

Shock, stack, 172

Sibylla, the Sibyl, a prophetess

Sicyon, a town on the Gulf of Corinth, nearly opposite Cirrha

Silanion, flourished in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., a statuary in bronze

Simonides, of Ceos, B.C. 556-467, a lyric poet

Sleights, tricks, stratagems, 14

Sodain, sudden, 259

Soles, Soli in Cyprus

Sowple, supple, or making supple, 61
Sparage, asparagus, 41
Springal, a youth, 295
Square, quarrel, 283
Stark, strongly, utterly, 214
Stomack, pride, 313; wax wroth, 118
Straight, strait, close, 112
Straits, isthmus, 41
Suit-like, alike, of one pattern, 251
Sulla, L. Cornelius, general and statesman, dictator at Rome, 81-79 B.C.
Sycophant, commonly derived from *σῦκον*, 'fig' and *φαίνω*, 'I show,' 325

Taber, play the tambourine, 306
Tables, tablets, 168
Target, shield, 119
Tawer, leather-dresser, 260
Taygetus, a mountain range W. of Sparta
Telemachus, son of Ulysses
Terpander, of Lesbos, fl. 700-650 B.C., a great musician and poet
Tetrapolis, the 'four cities' of the plain of Marathon, *i.e.* Marathon, Œnoe, Tricorinthus, Probalinthus
Thales of Miletus, about B.C. 636-546, a philosopher, and one of the Seven Sages
Themistocles, an Athenian statesman and warrior, to whom is due the victory at Salamis, 480 B.C.
Thespis, an Athenian, the founder of Greek tragedy
Theopompus, King of Sparta about 770-720
Thetis, a sea-nymph, wife of Peleus
Thucydides, the great At historian of the Peloponnes
Thymœtadae, a deme or ship of Attica, with a h near Peiræus and op Salamis
Tolerate, alleviate, 203
Travel, travail, labour, 15
Troezen, a city at the N.E. of the Peloponese
Trust, bundled, 43
Tegea, a city in the Pelop N. of Sparta

Ure, use, 215

Vacabound, vagabond, 96
Vantcurrer, forerunner, 379
Vawte, vault, 246
Venter, venture, 194
Venus, Gr. Aphrodite, godd love
Vespasian, T. Flavius, Emperor A.D. 69-79
Vesta, Roman goddess of the in whose temple was a per fire
Vitellius, Roman Emperor A
Vulcan, god of fire and smitl

Wodded, woaded, dyed with 281

Xenophon, about B.C. 444- Greek soldier and historia led the Ten Thousand hom Persia, and wrote the hist the expedition

Zaleucus, a celebrated law of the Epizephyrian Lo (7th century B.C.)
Zeus, chief of the gods
Zoroastres, founder of th Persian fire-worship

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